Daily Report

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FBIS-EEU-89-176 *13 September 1989*

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Foreign Ministry Accuses Turkey of Violations

AU1209195489 Sofia BTA in English 1735 GMT 12 Sep 89

["Actions Which Bring To Deterioration of Bulgaro-Turkish Relations" - BTA Headline]

[Text] Sofia, September (BTA)—An announcement of the Consular's Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs reads:

"The official Turkish representatives in this country continue to create serious difficulties related to the issuing of entrance visas of the Bulgarian citizens which infringes the agreements of the 1989 Bulgaro-Turkish visa contract and is in contradiction with the obligations included in the Vienna final document.

At the same time, according to information of Bulgarian citizens who have returned back to the country, it becomes clear that the Turkish authorities have been applying all kind of completely unjustified administrative, oppressive and other actions infringing the contractual-legal base existing between the two countries and in contradiction with the major international norms for relations between states.

Overcoming these difficulties and lately, due to expiration of the term of their sojourn or to some other reasons, the Bulgarian citizens are coming back to the country and their number during the last days is between 600 and a 1,000 per day. Till September 11, 1989, 12,898 people have returned back. The majority of these people are complaining of the conditions and the behavior towards them during their sojourn in Turkey and on their way back to Bulgaria: They have been ill-treated, physically violated, valuable objects have been taken from them, they have been put to endless interrogations and other actions, which represent encroachment on their human dignity.

The Turkish authorities restrict the freedom of movement of the Bulgarian citizens on Turkish territory and terminate the sojourn of many of them and forcibly expel them from the country. The travel passports of a significant number of the Bulgarian citizens staying at present in Turkey have been taken away and thus the Turkish authorities deprive these people of the right to decide alone the continuity of their stay abroad.

Infringing Article 26 Item 2 of the Consular's Convention between Bulgaria and Turkey according to which "the receiving country cannot restrict the right of the citizens of the sending country to come in touch with their consulates or visit them," the Turkish authorities create deliberate obstacles for the Bulgarian citizens, who need the cooperation of the Bulgarian official representatives in Turkey: The embassy in Turkey and the general consulates in Istanbul and Odrin, to get in touch with them.

One becomes convinced that with the restriction of the freedom of movement of the Bulgarian citizens, the infringement of the conditions for issuing of entrance visas, the non-observance of the Consular's Convention, as well as with the repressive actions which it uses as regards our compatriots, the Turkish side is trying to undermine the contractual legal base which leads to deterioration of Bulgaro-Turkish relations.

The Consular's Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs does what is necessary to protect the interests and guarantee the personal security and property of the Bulgarian citizens who are in Turkey on the basis of the acting international agreements, of the Consular's Convention, of the visa agreement and the agreement for alleviation of the international transport of passengers and goods between the two countries.

Politburo Approves Political Rehabilitations

AU1309084189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Sep 89 p 1

[Decision of the BCP Central Committee Politburo "On the Political Rehabilitation Individually by Name of the Bulgarian Political Emigrants Repressed in the USSR"]

[Text] The Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] discussed a report and adopted a decision on the political rehabilitation individually by name of the illegally repressed Bulgarian emigrants in the USSR in the 1920s and 1930s, whose status was restored by a court decision of the appropriate Soviet organs. This issue was pointedly raised by Comrade Todor Zhivkov in his concluding speech at the BCP Central Committee December 1988 Plenum.

The Bulgarian political emigrants in the USSR were among the BCP's most active revolutionary cadres. People representing the basic nucleus of the party's leading figures, such as Georgi Dimitrov, Vasil Kolarov, Khristo Kabakchiev, Todor Lukanov, Stanke Dimitrov, Gavril Genov, Petur Iskrov, Nikola Kofardzhiev, Anton Ivanov, Traycho Kostov, and so forth, were in fact among those emigrants.

Our political emigration played an important role in the BCP's class struggle against fascism and capitalism, in working out and applying its strategy during its period of illegality, and in organizing the armed anti-fascist struggle and the victory of the socialist revolution in our country. On the other hand, while in the USSR, it actively participated in socialist construction. The road of those constructors-founders was full of quest, heroism, and also with drama.

The Bulgarian revolutionary emigration in the USSR could not escape the repressions, and a substantial part, about 1,000 of the total of 3,000 Bulgarian political emigrants, were caught up in the whirlpool of the mass terror. With the series of trials, especially after the murder of S.M. Kirov in 1934, the wave of repressions strengthened. Simultaneously, on Stalin's instructions, the Komintern began a check of the political reliability of the foreign Communists and other political emigrants

living in the USSR. Such authoritative figures of the Bulgarian revolutionary workers' movement as Krustyu Rakovski, Roman Avramov, Boris Stomanyakov, Petur Iskrov, Iliya Vasilev, Ivan Pavlov, Andrey Andreev, Georgi Lambrev, Vulyu Ganchev, Vulko Radinski, and others, were not able to escape this fate and perished. We could say without exaggerating that the repressions had grave consequences for the Bulgarian revolutionary movement.

When the repressions acquired a mass dimension and threatened almost the entire Bulgarian political emigration, the BCP leadership abroad, led by Georgi Dimitrov and Vasil Kolarov, repeatedly tried to save our revolutionaries. The most recent researches published in the Soviet press and the documents we have show that Georgi Dimitrov's relations with Stalin and his entourage were not free of conflict. Despite the tragic period, he succeeded in saving many slandered Bulgarian revolutionaries. Frequently on his own, and in many cases at the request of our representation in the Executive Committee of the Communist International and the BCP bureau abroad, he intervened on behalf of Bulgarian political emigrants, turned directly to Stalin and other secretaries of the Central Committee of the Soviet party, the leaders of the People's Committee on Internal Affairs (NKVD), and the organs of the civil and military prosecution. Frequently he outright rejected the accusations contained in the investigation documents, and disputed the "admissions" of arrested figures, and even of people who had been sentenced. Occasionally, Georgi Dimitrov and Vasil Kolarov were successful. Thus for instance, until the attack of fascist Germany against the USSR, at their insistence, more than 150 Bulgarian political emigrants were released. They again actively joined the struggle against fascism, and 50 of them were sent to Bulgaria in 1941.

The struggle to save every innocent revolutionary from the camps and prisons really was heroic and consistent. As an internationalist and leader of the Comintern, Georgi Dimitrov also intervened on behalf of figures of the international organization, political emigrants and officials of the individual communist parties, and Soviet citizens.

The causes of the repressions are well-known. The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and many documents of the CPSU Central Committee convincingly revealed the grave consequences Stalin's repressions had for the CPSU and the Soviet people. The commission of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo on the additional study of materials related to the repressions, including those related to foreign Communists and anti-fascists temporarily residing in the USSR periodically acquaints the USSR and world public with the results of its work—the rehabilitation of numerous innocent people who have suffered. As is known, on the basis of a decision of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo of 16 January 1989, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet issued a decree which revoked all extra-court decisions adopted in the 1930's, the 1940's, and the beginning of the 1950's by the so-called troikas or by special meetings.

The BCP Central Committee attributes great political, ideological, and social importance to the highly humane and noble cause—final political rehabilitation. It is the permanent moral and human duty of the party to restore the honor, good name, and respect for the memory of every revolutionary who suffered under the repressions. This was impatiently expected by the families and relatives of the victims.

This is not a new problem for us. In the recent past our party has repeatedly studied and discussed the issue, and adopted practical decisions. The BCP drew up its general conclusions about the Bulgarian political emigrants, including those who suffered under the repression, already at the historic BCP Central Committee April 1956 Plenum. Later on, again at the initiative of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, after the 22nd CPSU Congress and the BCP Central Committee November 1961 Plenum, on 2 August 1962 the BCP Central Committee Politburo adopted a special decision on the total rehabilitation of all Bulgarian political emigrants in the USSR and party cadres in the country who were subjected to repressions during the period of the personality cult. Unfortunately, the situation in the USSR, which changed afterward, did not allow the full implementation of this important political document of our party in anything related to the Bulgarian political emigrants. Since our party did not have the necessary information, it was impossible to implement rehabilitation individually by name. Nevertheless, on the basis of documents that were discovered, the party organs have discussed and resolved issues related to the rehabilitation of hundreds of political emigrants. The names of figures such as Yordan Kesyakov, Nikola Maksimov, Petur Iskrov, Andrey Andreev, Blagoy Popov, Iliya Vasilev, Ivan Pavlov, Gancho Milchev, Radi Radev-Radionov, and many others, were restored.

The fate and future of the Bulgarian political emigrants who survived, was different. Many of them, despite the deterioration in their health, took an active part in the anti-fascist struggle and its epilogue—the socialist revolution. They made their worthy contribution to the construction of the new and socialist Bulgaria as leading party, state, and economic figures, or as rank-and-file soldiers of the labor front and public life. A small number remained in the USSR and continued to work there.

The work related to the total revelation of the historical truth became possible only after the new course was worked out under the leadership of the CPSU led by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev and adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress. The changed atmosphere made it possible to extend the process of restoring justice also to the foreign political emigration.

This allowed the BCP Central Committee to pursue its research with a new vigor, clarify many issues, and substantially elucidate the complex and contradictory problems, related to restoring the historical truth and political justice in all things related to the Bulgarian political emigrants. This great preliminary work would have been an impossible venture without the direct assistance and cooperation of the CPSU Central Committee and the Committee on Party Control at the CPSU Central Committee. The BCP Central Committee expresses its gratitude to the Soviet party leadership for its assistance and cooperation.

With the present decision the BCP Cental Committee Politburo rehabilitates by name, according to the published list, all Bulgarian revolutionaries who lived in the USSR and were subjected to unlawful political repressions. The BCP membership of those who were party members is restored without interruption and a proposal was submitted to the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] Permanent Board and to the Komsomol Central Committee to restore the membership of those who were BZNS members, members of the Bulgarian Communist Youth Union, or of the Workers Youth Union. Political emigres who were not party members are also politically rehabilitated. The decision extends also to those Bulgarian political emigres who were subjected to repressions and on whose legal rehabilation by the competent Soviet authorities we expect to receive further information.

A commission, under the leadership of the BCP Control Auditing Commission chairman, is in charge of perseveringly pursuing its efforts in collecting further facts on the fate of each Bulgarian political emigrant and of solving any problems that arise in connection with the implementation of the present decision.

The present decision assigns to the BCP History Institute and to the Central Party Archives of the BCP Central Committee, independently, or in joint efforts with other Bulgarian scientific institutions, and in cooperation with the CPSU Central Committee Institute on Marxism-Leninism, to engage in further studies and investigations related to the problems, events, phenomena, and personalities connected with the activities of the leading Bulgarian party organs in exile and with the life of Bulgarian political emigrants in the USSR. The participation and contribution of Bulgarian political emigrants in the revolutionary struggles in our country and in the construction of socialism in the USSR should be taken into consideration in the party's ideological-educational work and in research work on BCP history and on the history of local party organizations, and in editing scientific biographies and collected volumes of documents. The activities of the aforementioned personalities should be reflected in exhibitions of our central and local museums. The mass media are urged to publish materials on the life and work of Bulgarian political emigrants in connection with anniversaries and on other occasions.

As considered appropriate by competent central and local organs, buildings, streets, and institutions should be named after these personalities. The Politburo proposes to the state organs, on the basis of the current legislation, that act of political rehabiliation be combined with material compensation for those subjected to represession and for their families.

The political rehabilitation by name of Bulgarian revolutionary figures who were subjected to repressive measures in the USSR over the years of Stalin's personality cult is in the spirit of the BCP's July concept on restructuring, democracy, and on the establishment of a law-govened state and a highly developed, civilized society in our country. This act of rehabilitation, which restores historical truth and human justice, is of exceptional importance for the education of the young generations.

[The same issue of RABOTNICHESKO DELO carries on pages 3 and 4, the names of the 416 Bulgarian political emigrants rehabilated by this BCP Central Committee Politiburo decision (totalling 5,000 words). They are preceeded by the following introductory statement:

["In accordance with a decision of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, all Bulgarian political emigrants who were subjected to political repression during the 1930's and 1940's in the USSR and who have been legally rehabilitated by the relevant Soviet authorities are being politically rehabiliated by name. The names of the 416 rehabilitated persons are published herewith, followed by brief information. In some cases the date of their death is not indicated because no information is available.

["The first list contains the names of BCP members whose membership was restored in 1988 and the names of those whose party membership is being restored without interruption by the present BCP Central Committee Politburo decision; the second list contains the names of BZNS members, and the third list contains members of the Bulgarian Communist Youth Union and of the Workers Youth Union, while the fourth list contains names of non-party political emigrants."

[The overwhelming majority of persons contained in the lists are described as having "perished" in the Soviet Union in the late 1930's or early 1940's. The second large group consists of persons who reportedly returned to Bulgaria in the immediate postwar period, or in the 1950's, most of whom are reported "deceased" in Bulgaria. Only four persons are described as having been "killed by firing squads" in the early 1940's in Bulgaria, where they had joined the partisans at the beginning of World War II. Very few people are described as still living in the Soviet Union, or having died there in the postwar period, while only two persons are reported to have been killed as soldiers in World War II and two persons are described as having "perished in the Spanish Civil War" without further details.

[The majority of survivers from the Stalin repressions appear in the list of BCP members, while out of the seven BZNS members listed, only one is reported as having

returned to Bulgaria, and this situation also applies to the members of communist and workers youth organizations and the "non-party people" described in the last two lists.]

PZPR's Rakowski Departs From Bulgaria 7 Sep

AU1109153389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Sep 89 p 2

[Text] On 7 September Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party, who visited our country at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], departed from Bulgaria. At the Sofia airport the guest was seen off by Milko Balev, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary.

Zhivkov Receives Swiss Ambassador on Departure

AU1209125089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Sep 89 p 1

[Text] On 8 September Todor Zhivkov received Michael von Schenk, Swiss ambassador to Bulgaria, in connection with his final departure from the country.

The meeting was attended by Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs.

Leaders Attend National Day Public Meeting

AU1309071989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Sep 89 p 1

[Report by Mila Manova, Dilyan Todorov: "Freedom Lives and Breathes Through Our Deeds"]

[Excerpts] For 45 years already we have been celebrating the great and indescribable ninth of September 1944. [passage omitted]

On 8 September many representatives of various generations, party veterans, workers, and youth came to the festively decorated Georgi Kirkov Hall in Sofia, to participate in the public meeting to mark the 9 September anniversary.

The following party and state leaders, led by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and State Council chairman, were greeted with applause by the participants: Georgi Atanasov, Grisha Filipov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Dobri Dzhurov, Ivan Panev, Yordan Yotov, Milko Balev, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Georgi Yordanov, Petko Danchev, Stoyan Ovcharov, Nacho Papazov, Vasil Tsanov, Dimitur Stanishev, and Emil Khristov. [passage omitted]

Viktor Sharapov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria, also attended the meeting. [passage omitted]

Anniversary Parade Viewed

AU1109110989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Sep 89 pp 1, 2

[Report by Mila Manova, Dilyan Todorov: "Revolution: Memory and Responsibility, Self-Confidence and Cohesion"]

[Excerpts] The measured steps of the new guard at the Georgi Dimitrov Mausoleum marked the last seconds of the past 24 hours. The 45th free 9 September headed toward its morning. [passage omitted]

Sofia's 9 September Square was quiet, the people awaiting the beginning of the festive parade of Sofia citizens.

It is 1000. Exclamations glorifying the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] resounded in the square.

With stormy applause, the participants greeted the following party and state leaders, led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, who appeared on the tribune of the Georgi Dimitrov Mausoleum: Georgi Atanasov, Grisha Filipov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Dobri Dzhurov, Ivan Panev, Yordan Yotov, Milko Balev, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, Grigor Stoichkov, Petko Danchev, Stoyan Ovcharov, Nacho Papazov, Vasil Tsanov, Dimitur Stanishev, Emil Khristov, and Stanko Todorov, National Assembly chairman. [passage omitted]

Viktor Sharapov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria, was also on the tribune of the mausoleum. [passage omitted]

GDR Refugees Begin To Return Home 12 Sep

LD1209163289 Hamburg DPA in German 1547 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—Around two-thirds of the 450, repeat 450, GDR refugees who were staying in the FRG Embassy in Prague for weeks, left the building this afternoon. According to reports from Prague and Bonn, they are already on their way home. There is no information yet on the other GDR citizens in the mission.

The refugees decided to leave the mission after a talk with Dieter Kastrup, head of the Political Affairs Department in the Foreign Ministry, sent to Prague by Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. Wolfgang Priesnitz, secretary of state in the Ministry for inter-German Relations, Franz Bertele, Bonn's permanent representative in East Berlin, and lawyer Wolfgang Vogel, SED leader Erich Honecker's representative, also took part in the talk.

It was reported that Vogel assured the refugees in Prague that if they return they can expect impunity, reintegration into their workplace and legal assistance with their application to emigrate. These are the same guarantees which Vogel gave to the refugees in the Bonn Mission East Berlin, who subsequently decided to leave.

Kastrup conveyed to the GDR refugees in Prague a message from Genscher, which said that direct emigration from the CSSR to the FRG is impossible. Bertele assured those GDR citizens resolved to leave that he will continue to help them.

The head of the Federal Chancellor's Office, Rudolf Seiters, said in a statement: "Those who have already left the Prague Embassy to return to the GDR did so after making indepedent decisions, just as those who sought shelter in the permanent Mission in East Berlin did last Friday." All sides of the problem have been extensively discussed with those affected in Prague, "so that each person is in a position to make an independent decision." The Federal Government expects that the GDR will fully honor its assurances.

The Federal Government will not pressure GDR citizens still in the Prague Embassy. "Everyone must decide for himself," Seiters said.

145 Remain in FRG Prague Mission

LD1309084589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0400 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] More than 250 GDR citizens who have occupied the West German Embassy in Prague decided yesterday to return to the German Democratic Republic. As RUDE PRAVO writes, they have left the embassy building after an official promise had been given to them that they would be able to apply legally to emigrate. About 145 GDR tourists are still in the building of the West German mission and have not yet decided to leave.

Vogel Resumes Talks

LD1309102589 Hamburg DPA in German 1009 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] Prague (DPA)—This morning East Berlin lawyer Wolfgang Vogel resumed talks in the Federal Republic's Embassy in Prague with the GDR refugees still remaining there. He hopes to persuade them to return home. This afternoon, some of the 200 refugees who remain might apparently decide to return to the GDR.

Yesterday about 270 refugees decided to leave the Embassy. Vogel had assured them they would not be punished and would receive legal assistance with their emigration applications.

RUDE PRAVO Cited on Refugee Situation

LD1309085389 Prague CTK in English 0717 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] Prague Sept 13 (CTK)—"The West German Government can be thankful for the hot wave of fugitives not only to the Hungarian Government (it is, indeed, doing so) but also to the influence of the West German television which...persistently gives publicity inter alia to the Hallstein doctrine under which all Germans, wherever they live, are citizens of the FRG," RUDE PRAVO said today.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party newspaper said this doctrine has lately been dusted off and accompanied by the idea that from the legal point of view the German empire still exists in 1937 borders. Even some federal government members followed this line at various revanchist gatherings of Germans transferred after the war from some East European countries, RUDE PRAVO said, and pointed out that many politicians of government parties are not hiding the intention that the fugitives are to be used for discrediting the socialist system and for putting pressure on and destabilizing the GDR. The recruitment of GDR citizens to the FRG under the motto of one single citizenship and unity of the German nation is used by various neo- Nazi groups for fomenting hatred against foreign workers and asylum- seekers from countries outside Europe. The motto "one nation-one empire" turns up once again in neo-Nazi propaganda, RUDE PRAVO said.

The paper further noted that foreign observers commenting on the Hungarian Government statement regarding GDR nationals have been turning their attention to the formulation that the Hungarian Government "decided to temporarily suspend the validity" of a Hungarian-GDR Government agreement. They point out that it is not for the first time that the formulation "to suspend temporarily" the validity of intergovernmental agreements appeared recently during unilateral steps by the Hungarian Government, RUDE PRAVO said.

CTK Denounces FRG 'Campaign' Against GDR

LD1209214489 Prague CTK in English 2003 GMT 12 Sep 89

["CTK Statement on Campaign against GDR"—CTK headline]

[Text] Prague Sept 12 (CTK)—Mass media and certain political circles in West Germany have recently stepped up their campaign and actions in connection with GDR citizens who have left the country illegally which is at variance with the spirit of the all-European process, with the results of the Vienna follow-up meeting and basic norms of international law.

The aim of the campaign is to defame the successes which the GDR has achieved during the period of building the socialist society, cast doubt upon its position in the community of the socialist states and to interfere in its internal affairs.

It is regrettable that illegal departure of GDR citizens through third countries is made possible by the violation of agreements which the GDR has concluded with other states.

During the 40 years of its existence the GDR has gained high and general international recognition. Through its policy it has many times proved faithfulness to the needs and aims of the strengthening of security and international cooperation. Since the establishment of bilateral relations, the GDR has been for Czechoslovakia a reliable neighbour, partner and ally. There is no doubt that Czechoslovakia and the GDR will continue to develop these traditions and principles of mutual relations while respecting all obligations.

Bulgarian-Turkish Relations Cause 'Concern'

LD1309134289 Prague CTK in English 1222 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] Prague Sept 13 (CTK)—"A solution to the questions which caused deterioration of Bulgaria-Turkey relations is exclusively an affair of these two countries", a press spokesman for the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry told Journalists here Wednesday.

He at the same time expressed Czechoslovakia's concern over escalating tension between these states.

"Czechoslovakia is of the opinion that the protocol signed between Bulgaria and Turkey in Belgrade in February 1988 creates favourable prerequisites for a political settlement of the conflict", he said.

"Interference in the internal affairs of Bulgaria, the example of which is also the recent statement of the NATO secretary-general, an attempt to internationalize the question of Bulgarian Moslems and to abuse it for propaganda aims, can only make the current situation even more complicated", the spokesman said.

"We are convinced that only a purposeful and constructive dialogue proposed by the Bulgarian side, and political will of the states involved can lead to overcoming of disputes and finding a mutually acceptable solution", the spokesman pointed out.

He said that Czechoslovakia is interested in normalization of Bulgaria-Turkey relations which would undoubtedly contribute to further development and deepening of the all-European process in the Balkans.

Hungarian Criticism of Prague Danube Plans Noted

AU2209171089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Sep 89 p 7

[Vojtech Vesely Budapest dispatch: "Disparate Approaches to Treaties"]

[Text] Budapest (from our correspondent)—The Hungarian press responds extensively to the Czechoslovak intention to dam the Danube on Czechoslovak territory and to divert some of its water to the Gabcikovo hydroelectric power plant. As is known, this is a measure that has been brought about by the suspension of work on the construction of the dam at Dunakiliti, which the Hungarian Government ordered at the beginning of August.

In this context the daily NEPSZAVA publishes the view of one water management expert, according to whom the Czechoslovak move would cause a drastic drop in the water level on the Hungarian section of the Danube, which would supposedly lead to the death of most living organisms and accelerate the process of aging and drying out of wetland forests in the area of the Mosoni Danube (which is the southern, smaller branch of the river on Hungarian territory). The newspaper states, furthermore, that the construction of the Hrusov dam according to the original plans would not have had such consequences. An opinion on the issue has also been provided by a representative of the Hungarian MAHART shipping company, who does not see an obstacle to shipping on the Danube in the Czechoslovak alternative solution.

"From the legal viewpoint, Czechoslovakia cannot take a one-sided step, it cannot change the nature of the Danube as a border stream," the lawyer Peter Kovacs declared in the same newspaper. One needs to draw attention to the fact that on other contentious issues of international significance the Hungarian lawyers' position was different: They pointed out that the injured party can respond to the violation of international treaties and agreements with measures that do not conform with the legal norm, provided that it averts the possibility of grievous damage.

The daily MAGYAR NEMZET, in turn, writes about the possibility of turning to the great powers which signed the 1947 peace treaty. Hungarian Government commissioner [for the Danube dam project] Laszlo Udvari claims in the daily NEPSZABADSAG that the suspension of the damming of the old river bed of the Danube for 3 to 5 years had been "anchored" during the talks

between the CSSR and Hungarian People's Republic heads of government on 20 July this year.

Addressing an international news conference, Zsolt Bajnok, the government's press spokesman, affirmed that the Hungarian Government's negative attitude to the Czechoslovak move on the Danube has not changed.

Hungary's 'Stubborn Suspension' Helps Opposition

AU1209171889 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Sep 89 p 4

["(VE)"-signed report: "Hungarian Aid for the Opposition in the CSSR?; The Real Motive Behind Suspending the Danube Project"]

[Text] Budapest (From our own correspondent)—On Saturday [9 September] the new and avowedly independent—but, in fact, committed to the opposition—television channel, NAP, discussed the situation concerning the construction of the Hrusov-Dunakiliti reservoir. As we already know, the Hungarian side has unilaterally suspended its construction which will make it impossible to put the Gabcikovo stage of the Danube system into operation on time. Therefore, a strategy for Czechoslovak technical countermeasures is under preparation.

In reply to the editor's question about the international consequences of the Czechoslovak objective, the biologist Janos Vargha, a well known opponent of the construction, said: "This matter violates the valid Czechoslovak-Hungarian treaty on border streams and also the Paris peace agreement. We draw a general political conclusion from this. I think that in our approach to the present conflict we must reflect on this and, at this moment, help—politically or in any way—those who in Czechoslovakia are regarded as the opposition, both outside of and within power."

Everything bears out the fact that this politicizing biologist has grasped the real motive behind Hungary's stubborn suspension in completing the joint Danube project.

'Standpoint' on Dam Talks With Hungary

AU1209170489 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Sep 89 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "The Standpoint of the Czechoslovak Side"]

[Text] Bratislava— In the wake of CSSR Deputy Premier Pavel Hrivnak's talks with Peter Medgyessy, deputy prime minister of the Hungarian People's Republic, the Czechoslovak delegation made available to CTK the Czechoslovak standpoint on the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros system of hydropower projects on the Danube, which we publish in full:

The CSSR Government's fundamental position was contained in the note of the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs of 18 August 1989 and in the letter of the CSSR Premier of 31 August of the same year.

In this connection, we propose once again that the Hungarian side carry on the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros system of hydropower projects, especially the damming of the Danube river bed at Dunakiliti, in harmony with the agreement and concomitant contractual documents.

In the event that the Hungarian side cannot implement this step for capacity, technological, or organizational reasons, the Czechoslovak side is ready to dam the Danube with its own means at the cost of the Hungarian side, on the basis of a supplement to the Agreement on Mutual Assistance in the Construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros System of Hydropower Projects.

In case the Hungarian side does not accept these proposals and continues to unilaterally violate the valid agreement, its course of action will compel us to take up an alternative provisional and temporary technical solution exclusively on CSSR territory which would ensure that the Gabcikovo hydroelectric power plant is put into limited operation. In taking up this variant, we are guided by the endeavor to maximally reduce the damage which the Czechoslovak side would sustain owing to the course pursued by the Hungarian People's Republic. Such a solution is in the interest of both states. It will make it possible for Czechoslovakia to at least partially make use of the investment resources spent while the damages which Hungary will be obliged to pay to the CSSR as compensation will be reduced.

This solution will ensure that both the Mosoni branch of the Danube and the old Danube river bed are supplied with the amount of water set forth in the contractual documents on the construction and operation of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros system of hydropower projects and, at the same time, it will safeguard navigation. This is a provisional and temporary solution and the CSSR will continue to be prepared to complete the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros system of hydropower projects in accordance with the agreement of 1987, under the condition that the same willingness will also be shown by the Hungarian People's Republic and that it compensate Czechoslovakia for the damage sustained by it as a result of the unilateral violation of the agreement by the Hungarian side.

Czechoslovak experts on international law have not ascertained any legal reasons which would prevent Czechoslovakia from realizing the aforementioned alternative technical solution.

We are ready to receive Hungarian experts on international law to discuss the legal aspects of the Czechoslovak approach.

Johanes Receives USIA's Gelb

LD1309061989 Prague CTK in English 1819 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Prague Sep 12 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Joromir Johanes received here Tuesday director of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) Bruce Gelb.

During an open exchange of views on the present state and prospects of Czechoslovak-American relations in the context of positive development of East-West relations and international situation, the two sides stated the necessity of gradual removal of existing obstacles preventing the extension of bilateral relations. Joromir Johanes pointed to the significance of an open dialogue on a high level which contributes to the strengthening of confidence and cooperation between states and stressed the necessity of removing discriminatory measures against Czechoslovakia.

The two representatives further exchanged opinions on international topics, humanitarian cooperation and human rights.

USIA Chief's Visit 'Very Useful'

LD1309062489 Prague International Service in English 1900 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Frantisek Vonderka commentary from the "Newsview" program]

[Text] The director of the United States Information Agency, Mr Bruce Gelb, now on a visit to Prague, has met here with senior Communist Party officials. Radio Prague's Frantisek Vonderka comments:

The talks were very useful for furthering dialogue between the United States and Czechoslovakia. Significantly, both sides expressed interest in deepening cooperation and appreciated the favorable influence of easing international tension on bilateral contacts. Needless to say, international relations can only benefit from improved understanding between Prague and Washington. Mr Gelb's visit in Prague may also be regarded as part of preparations for the second Czechoslovak-American roundtable conference, which will take place in the Czechoslovak capital in the near future. This country's interest in the conference is considerable, given its efforts to improve economic performance by, among other things, selecting advanced business experience available in the United States.

One not-unexpected result of the talks was that there were and are many opportunities of livelier cooperation, not only in the economy, but also in science, technology, as well as in politics. In order to tap these possibilities, in other words, in order to normalize relations between the United States and Czechoslovakia, persisting barriers should gradually be removed: a point on which the views of the two sides were identical. What is essential in this respect is due regard for the values upheld by the two countries, which represent two different social systems. If you try to improve relations with a sovereign people, you don't try to impose your hierarchy of often-the-same or similar values on them, or do you? Moreover, the democratization process in different parts of the world has not reached the same level of development, not to mention the fact that progress in this sensitive field depends to a great extent on national traditions and historical experience.

So, if two sovereign states really want to place their relations on a more friendly footing, they must not disregard this fundamental. To Czechoslovakia, this is one of the messages of the founding fathers of the United States contained in the Declaration of Independence.

Delegation Head on New Round of Vienna Talks

AU1209130689 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Sep 89 pp 1,7

[CTK report: "The Third Round of Disarmament Talks Opened in Vienna"]

[Excerpt] Vienna—The third round of talks between representatives of 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO members states on conventional armed forces in Europe started in the Vienna Hofburg on Thursday [7 September]. The third round of talks between representatives of the 35 countries which are signatories to the Helsinki Final Act on confidence-building measures and security in Europe will start on Friday [8 September]. Both rounds of talks will last until 20 October.

We are entering this new stage of the Vienna talks with the wish that it adopt from the previous rounds their positive features, such as dynamism and constructiveness, and that it develop them further, Ladislav Balcar, head of the CSSR delegation to the Vienna talks, told the CTK correspondent. If this happens, through the efforts of the delegations of all participating states, then this round could suggest a great deal about how realistic the hopes are that the tasks enshrined in the talks' mandate can be put forward in a very short period of time, as proposed at the Bucharest session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee and at the Brussels session of the NATO Council.

The prerequisites for this exist, the Czechoslovak ambassador went on to say, thanks, above all, to the present international political situation and the favorable atmosphere at the talks on conventional armed forces, for which Mikhail Gorbachev's and George Bush's proposals deserve major credit. We are able to note with satisfaction that in the positions and submitted proposals there exist several elements that are close or identical, from the sum total of which the structure and the rough outlines of the basic agreement are starting to emerge already.

Today we agree, Ladislav Balcar said, that the military potential for a surprise attack in six categories will be subjected to a reduction. These categories are armed

forces, aircraft, helicopters, tanks, artillery pieces, and armed personnel carriers. We agree, furthermore, that it will be necessary to limit troop numbers deployed outside the national territory and that the territory between the Atlantic and the Urals will have to be divided into zones, for which it will be necessary to fix sub-limits depending on the form in which the regional subdivision will be agreed upon. We also agree on the need to work out a wide-ranging and effective system of information, rigorous verification, and limiting and stabilization measures. [passage omitted]

NATO Vienna Talks Proposals Assessed

AU1209130789 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Sep 89 p 5

[Bedrich Zagar commentary: "A New Round—A New Zeal?"]

[Text] Prior to the opening in Vienna of the third round of talks on Conventional Forces in Europe, which started the day before yesterday, and which involve representatives of the 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO member states, a great deal had been written in the West about how throughout the summer recess they were working intensively at NATO headquarters in Brussels on "stabilizing measures." The NATO delegations were to submit them on Thursday [7 September] in a proposal to accelerate the course of the discussions. However, the submission of the West's new proposals fell through for, apparently, Greece has, so far, not agreed to the proposed measures and so Western diplomats now reckon that the submission of the proposals will be delayed by a week.

According to the WASHINGTON POST, at the proposal's core is a collection of measures for verifying the permitted maximum numbers of various categories of weapons, from tanks to combat aircraft. According to NATO's concept, inspections should be carried out in almost all military installations from the Urals to the Atlantic and should require the deployment of a number of inspectors. In the proposal there are, apparently, demands that notice should be given about the calling up of reserve soldiers as well as about the movement and concentration of military units, the locations of military depots, and restricting military activity.

However, at the beginning of this week, Athens announced its reservations against some of the points contained in the package of "stabilizing measures." Among other things, Greece's disagreement concerns the proposal to limit future military exercises to 40,000 men. Greece is demanding a lower limit than 40,000 men, obviously, with regard to its rival and opponent within the framework of the alliance—Turkey. If internal consultations among the NATO ambassadors in Vienna do not lead to a speedy result, the problem must be returned to headquarters in Brussels. The dispute between Greece and Turkey over Cyprus is still at stalemate and relations between the two NATO member states continue to be tense. Greece regards Turkey as a potential aggressor and, therefore, is insisting on a lower number of troops during military exercises. And, perhaps, via its protest it wants NATO to effect a just solution to the Cyprus question.

If NATO were to submit its proposals in a week or later, the Warsaw Pact member states would not be surprised. The leader of the Soviet delegation, Oleg Grinevskiy, has also announced new proposals: They go even further than the heralded NATO proposals. On the question of inspection, the Soviet Union is even more generous than the West which has already been proven in negotiations on nuclear and chemical weapons. Even in the case of conventional armed forces, it will not hesitate, on the basis of mutual balance, to allow hundreds of NATO military inspectors into its country.

The Warsaw Pact member states expect that a working atmosphere will prevail in this round and that it will be feasible, as long as there is real hope, to resolve problems in the short term, as proposed at sessions of the Warsaw Pact member states' Political and Consultative Committee in Bucharest and at the NATO council in Brussels. There is agreement that the military capability to carry out a surprise attack in six categories, troops, aircraft, helicopters, tanks, artillery, and armored transport vehicles as well as troops based outside their national territories, will be reduced. If the NATO states' delegations exhibit a constructive approach, an agreement should come about in a year at most.

Questions involving aircraft are contentious. The Western side is, so far, refusing to designate 1,800 fighter aircraft for defensive roles only as the Warsaw Pact member states are proposing. The leader of the American delegation, Stephen Ledogar, who, by the way, will come to the end of his assignment during the third round of talks in Vienna and will be replaced, has already hinted that NATO will not agree with the designation of whole categories of aircraft, making it clear that NATO wants to preserve fighter aircraft for offensive purposes.

There remains the hope, as President Bush announced in Brussels at the beginning of June, that the United States is interested in substantially reducing conventional armed forces and in the quickest possible conclusion to the Vienna talks. Perhaps the American delegation in Vienna will also get to know about this. The success of the agreement on conventional armed forces will also have an influence on the fate of nuclear weapons in Europe....

First Batch of Tanks Ready for Scrapyard

LD1209152989 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] The first 20 of a total of 850 tanks due to be eliminated after the January statement by the State Defense Council have been loaded on a freight train by members of a tank regiment in Ceske Budejovice today and made ready for their journey to the maintenance

works, where their armaments will gradually be dismantled. Some parts of the tanks' chassis will be sent to the scrapyards, other parts will be sold off to factories and plants.

Belgrade Nonaligned Conference Viewed

AU1209185789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Sep 89 p 7

[Vaclav Bervida and Petr Vana article: "A Contribution to Peaceful Restructuring"]

[Text] The declaration approved by the countries of the Nonaligned Movement on Thursday [7 September] at the end of their ninth summit conference in Belgrade contains the statement—We cannot rebuild the world ourselves nor, however, can the world be changed without our contribution. This may sound rather high-handed, however, only at first. After all, the Nonaligned Movement is made up of more than 100 countries from Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Europe. They account for the overwhelming majority of UN members and are, then, no insignificant force. The course and results of the conference have shown that this force will be even more actively directed toward asserting international peace, security, and cooperation.

In the movement there are states with considerably diverse economic and social development, political orientation, and social systems. However, they are united in the aim which the movement outlined at its first summit conference 28 years ago: To strive for a world free of the weapons of mass destruction, of wars, of colonial and neo-colonial exploitation, and for equality among nations. These aims were confirmed once again at Belgrade. The fact that for the first time in the history of the Nonaligned Movement its most senior representatives met for the second time in the same country is also an appreciation of Yugoslavia's contribution.

The nonaligned countries are making a contribution to extinguishing the fires of armament in various parts of our planet and to the relaxation of international tension. They are endeavoring to build bridges of understanding.

The results of development during the 3 years which have passed since the last meeting of the heads of state or government in Harare contain successes in efforts for international disarmament, for resolving disputes between states by means of dialogue, and they also note, with satisfaction, an overall retreat from confrontation, in particular, the improvement in Soviet-American relations and their disarmament agreements. At the same time, however, the movement points out that our planet is far from changing into an idyllic one.

The flash points of tension have not decreased too much, although they are being somewhat subdued. There are places where colonialism and open discrimination, age old injustice, and unconcealed aggression continue to survive. There are even conflicts between nonaligned countries such as in the case of Iraq and Iran, Chad and Libya, and, indirectly, between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Interference and crude pressure linger on. Poverty, backwardness, epidemics, indebtedness of a whole group of countries, and neocolonial exploitation contrast with world expenditure on arms. These phenomena accompany the present paramount course toward understanding and cooperation.

The Belgrade session undoubtedly will [illegible] into the movement's history books because it was [illegible]rgest and most representative session. Its importan[illegible] underlined by messages from Mikhail Gorbachev, George Bush, Gustav Husak, and other distinguished statesmen and by the participation of numerous guests. For the first time, a Czechoslovak delegation, led by the minister for foreign affairs, was among them. However, the nonaligned countries first of all decided to make a new start so that they can better influence the world while adhering to their anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist principles. There were times, not too long ago, when the movement was, to a certain extent, made vulnerable by justified, however unrealistic, stances, by its tendency to issue slogans, and by its too dogmatic view of international events. This did not add to its authority and the movement admits that it lagged behind the dynamism of world development. As Janez Drnovshek, the most senior representative of the host country and the current chairman of the movement, said—now the movement has expressed its support for realism and pragmatism in asserting its aims and for creative approaches.

An important trait is, despite the variety of opinions, the movement's agreement to resolve disputes by a dialogue and, in the same way, to urge equality in international economic relations. The principle idea in Belgrade was the close association between detente and economic and social development and the growing mutual dependency in the world in general. Hand in hand with this is the awareness that high principles do not exclude compromises. This is reflected by standpoints for the benefit of justice in southern Africa, in the Middle East, on the Korean peninsula, and in Central America, and standpoints for the benefit of realism in the Iraq-Iran crisis; the document on Afghanistan also is in the nature of a compromise. Resolutions on economic issues and on a new topic—environmental protection—have a specific substance.

As Yeoryios Vasiliou, the Cypriot president, said in Belgrade, the Nonaligned Movement has, first and foremost, a great moral strength. It can significantly aid in ensuring that the current positive tendencies in world development do not weaken. Efforts to reverse nuclear catastrophe, to assert global values in international relations, and practical steps toward strengthening the dependence and sovereignty of all countries all correspond to the new political thinking which is also being consistently asserted by the socialist countries. It has their complete support.

Jakes Addresses Teachers' Conference 8 Sep

AU1109152989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Sep 89 p 3

[Speech by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party (CPCZ) Central Committee, at teachers' conference in Prague on 8 Sep]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades and Dear Guests,

First of all, allow me, on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the National Front Central Committee, the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Federal Government, the members of the delegations, and on my own behalf, to extend most cordial greetings to you, the delegates and guests of the nationwide conference of teachers.

The regular statewide conferences of teachers, masters of technical training, educators, and other educationalists has now become a tradition. This arises from the importance which we attach to questions concerning the all-round development of man, his educational achievement, his political, moral, cultural, and civic maturity, and questions concerning the growth and utilization of society's intellectual potential.

We know that in the regions, districts, and towns you did not sit back with your arms folded, we know that you came along to discussions on the nationwide conference of teachers with the initiatives and suggestions which you had discussed in pedagogic collectives and which are aimed, in harmony with the conclusions of the 13th session of the CPCZ Central Committee, at having young people leave school better prepared for life and work in our socialist society. We are convinced that the discussions for the nationwide teachers conference will contribute to the more effective assertion of the new approaches in the work of pedagogues and to resolving the problems and shortcomings which still persist in education and upbringing.

It was no coincidence that one of the first laws adopted following the working people's victory in February 1948 was precisely the law on unified schools. The profound democratization of education was an important condition of the succesful building of the socialist society. Today, too, when we have embarked on the road of fundamental revolutionary changes, we cannot attain the aims we have set before ourselves in social development without the active participation of teachers. This is why it is necesary that you, the representatives of the teaching public, should ponder responsibly about the most effective ways of ensuring the further growth of educational and cultural advancement of people, about how to further increase your contribution to the process of restructuring.

We understand that exceptionally high demands are placed on everyone who works in the field of education and upbringing. We highly regard the noble activity of educational workers who are fulfilling, responsibly and selflessly and with inner zeal, their indispensable mission. This is why, from this platform, I want to thank you and all teachers and educational workers sincerely for the work you have done. [applause]

Esteemed comrades! We have gathered here at a time when we are carrying out throughout our society revolutionary tasks of restructuring and democratization as they were set out at the seventh Central Committee session and further specified in subsequent sessions of the party's central committee. We understand restructuring as an objective necessity of the development of socialism in the current historical stage, and prerequisite of a more all-round utilization of its advantages and possibilities. At the same time we proceed from our own specific conditions, follow up on the progressive legacy of the history of our nations and on the successes we have achieved in the socialist construction of our country since February 1948. We follow attentively the developments in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and creatively use their experiences and the findings of other states.

We see the path forward not in the weakening of socialism but in the strengthening and improvement of it, the strengthening of the power of the people, the broad activation of the National Front, and the further fulfillment of the Communist Party's vanguard role. We want a socialist, socially just, and economically efficient society providing for a high living standard of people, their solid social guarantees founded on the socially-wide ownership of the means of production and the utilization of all its forms, including the individual initiative of citizens; a society in which each is rewarded according to the amount and quality of the work done. We want a society which will enable people to make even greater use of civic rights and liberties in unity with discipline and order, to share actively in management and administration, and of which democratic opportunities of access to education and culture remain an enduring value.

We shall continue in the spirit of socialist internationalism to contribute actively to the development and strengthening of the unity of the socialist community, strengthen our friendship and all- round cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries. This is an immutable orientation of the policy of our party and the state.

A number of decisions and measures have been adopted, which we are implementing in order to enhance the process of economic and social reform. In harmony with the laws on the state enterprise, on agricultural collectives, and on production, consumer, and housing collectives, the authority and responsibility of enterprises has increased on the basis of management accountability, self-financing, and socialist self-management. We are counting on the general implementation of the new economic mechanism from 1 January next year.

The democratic nature of the political system and the management of society is intensifying. In this regard, we

assign a great role to the National Front as the platform of the socialist pluralism of views and interests, for expanding citizens' participation in the creation and implementation of state policy, and to increase the independence and significance of the national committees, in particular, the municipal and local committees. In all spheres, including cadre work, we are striving for the intensification of an open policy, for the widespread flow of public information, and for public control.

We associate the implementation of all these tasks with changes in the activity of the Communist Party and with improving its leading role in society. We place emphasis on implementing methods of political influence, on developing democracy within the party, on the growth of the Communists' activity and vigilance, on their exemplary nature in life and work, and on the party's firm unity with the people.

Restructuring is not an automatic process which will automatically get the declaration of correct aims and principles under way. It is necessary to constantly measure all intentions by the needs of practice and real life, and to systematically specify and concretize them. At the same time, it is essential to wage a struggle for the people's awareness and to overcome inertia, routine, stereotypes, comfort seeking, and caution. Socialism is founded on the dynamic, creative activity of people. Therefore, we need an atmosphere in society which supports activity, innovation, and people's conduct and behavior as real managers in their own workplaces, as administrators of their own state in localities and in the country as a whole.

At the same time, it is necessary to realistically refer to the present situation in society. We do not overlook the mistakes and shortcomings, but we are drawing lessons from them. We are developing and enhancing everything which we have achieved in our country during the past 4 decades. The long and the short of it is that we are still consistently traveling along a socialist road and, at the same time, we are respecting the new conditions and the new demands.

It is possible to say that the citizens' awareness of their responsibility for the further socialist development of our country is growing. The overwhelming majority support the program of economic and social restructuring. The political atmosphere in society is highlighted by a growing interest in public affairs, by the resolve to come to grips with national tasks, and to more consistently overcome problems and shortcomings, that is, everything that prevents our progress forward.

The activity of those groups who would like to abuse the process of restructuring, the intensification of socialist democracy, and the openness of our policy and the free flow of public information to attack the socialist nature of our society, as they attempted to do during last year and this year, is at variance with the constructive approach of the overwhelming majority in our society.

We do not underestimate the effect of these forces, particularly on the young generation. Our people do not wish chaos and unrest. They do not associate restructuring with anarchy, inflation, and strikes. They understand very well that, in order to achieve the aims of restructuring, first and foremost, quiet, order, and peaceful and creative work, and tranquility are necessary.

Economic and social restructuring has active support because it opens up new possibilities to develop and implement the human substance of the socialist social system. It contributes to strengthening trust and respect for man, to creating the conditions for his creative powers, zeal, and abilities to manifest themselves. It also leads to a growth in the people's responsibility for their own work and conduct, for the socialist future of our country, and for peace on the whole planet.

Comrades! Only educated people who are prepared well politically and technically, who are morally mature and involved in civic affairs can fulfill the tasks facing us. One can say directly that restructuring and democratization is not possible without a high standard of education and the overall cultural maturity of society. There is no need to be ashamed of what has been achieved in this area either. Our country is the homeland of the famous teacher of nations, Jan Amos Komensky, the 400th anniversary of whose birth we shall mark in 1992. We want to honor it by staging a world conference on Komensky's legacy and man's education for the 21st century. We have something to contribute. By developing Jan Amos Komensky's exceptionally precious legacy we have achieved great successes in our country. The period of socialist construction in particular has brought revolutionary results in this regard. It was socialism which made education accessible to all people. The authority and recognition which our education enjoys in the world was also confirmed by the world teachers' conference which took place recently here in Prague.

The present time places before us new tasks. The school and our entire system of education and upbringing cannot remain apart from social changes. It must be their integral part and an important instrument of implementation. It must even, to a certain degree, be ahead of social practice. This is understandable since the further successful fulfillment of the goals of our socialist society depends directly on the shaping of the personality of a young person, his or her knowledge, consciousness, the creative attitude to work and life.

The 13th session of the CPCZ Central Committee examined in detail the existing development and the tasks facing Czechoslovak education in the process of restructuring and democratization. Questions concerning the further improvement of the quality of upbringing and education in accordance with the requirements for the development of our society were placed into the forefront—as were questions concerning the improvement of the system of the management of eduation and

enhancing the role of the teacher as an eduator and a mentor. At the same time the demand to create better conditions for the exacting work of schools and for strengthening the joint responsibility of our society for the upbringing of the young generation were emphasized. The preparation of the upcoming generation to enable them to take an active part in life and in society demands that the new conditions in which they will live and work are respected.

The process of scientific and technological revolution directly influences the life of every person. The entire social superstructure is undergoing great changes. This is why increasingly more demanding criteria apply to the standard of the preparation and education of young people and all working people. The project of the Czechoslovak system of education and upbringing for the beginning of the next decade, which should be drafted in lien with the resolution adopted at the 13th session of the party's Central Committee by 1995, must correspond to this. In its preparation it is necessary to remember that it is not the extensive expansion of knowledge, the overburdening of students, but the development of creative abilities, independent thinking, and responsible attitude to work and people that must form the basis of education and upbringing. Schools should be able to react to the needs of the time, the dynamic development of science and technology, the necessity of the increasing participation of people in the management of production and social processes. Naturally, the school alone cannot provide for the growing demands on education and upbringing. This is a matter for the whole of society and for this reason the whole of society must give effective assistance to the school. Nevertheless, it is the school itself, the management bodies, and all educators which bear the decisive responsibility for the result of its work.

A number of questions have come into the forefront to which we must pay increased attention. The requirement of linking theory with practice and the school with life is still accute. This applies both to the content of upbringing and education and the practical approaches to securing the set aims. The issue is not to leave the preparation of the young generation for life and work only to the classroom, the laboratory, the study-room, and the lecture hall. State enterprises and cooperatives, research institutes and cultural instutions, social and interest-based organizations of the National front must share in it. The active joint participation of these institutions in the upbringing and practical preparation of people, including their specific conribution to the improvement of the material and technological equipment of schools, constitutes an important political task—one of the important prerequisites of improving the system of upbringing and education.

This demand applies particularly urgently to the industries, enterprises, and national committees which have responsiblity for the training of young manual workers. Much needs to be improved here, both in the standard of theoretical and practical teaching of, in particular, students at secondary and technical schools and training centers, and in their upbringing. This was rightly pointed out insistently at the 13th session of the party Central Committee. The relevant state and economic bodies must not put off tackling these problems, including the status of professional training instructors, and the material and moral recognition for their work. At the same time it is important that the upbinging of the young generation for manual work does not end when they graduate from secondary vocational training centers or other types of school, because in training young manual workers and strengthening their class-consciousness, work attributes, moral, and civic attitudes an important role and responsibility is borne by the work collective, the enterprise, and the factory.

The need to link upbringing and education closely to practical life also applies in full measure to the universities. Their role is to train qualified specialists dedicated to their socialist homeland. They must be centers of scientific and technological progress, they must combine training with practice. The scientific research results of the universities and their complementary economic activity ought to exert a much greater impact on the process of restructuring our economy and of social transformation. On the other hand, the production sector must show much greater interest in the results of their scientific research.

If we are to make faster progress, we must overcome the trend toward mediocrity in the schools, and everywhere else too. This means markedly strengthening the individual approach to pupils and students so as to enable their talents to flourish. We must be able to seek out, nurture and support talent. One single period of education is not enough to promote the faster development of science and technology. It is vital to implement a flexible and dynamic system of education at all stages of life. In short, the education process does not end at school, for the school is merely its foundation. The practical application of this principle is all the more urgent today when the implementation of structural changes in the national economy will mean retraining a large number of people and a continual upgrading of every worker's qualifications. This is the way to influence effectively the preparation of people for the needs and demands of the revolution in science and technology, and to provide them, in keeping with increased leisure opportunities, with a wealth of stimuli for developing all kinds of interests and abilities.

Comrades, there is a lot of talk these days about what today's young generation is like. It is what we have brought it up to be, what life in our society has shaped it into. Young people have enthusiasm, self-confidence and a sense of the new. They want to excel and find their vocation. They must be given every bit of help to this end; a good education, and the opportunity to use it. At the same time however, we must make high demands on them, guide them to a sense of responsibility for their own life, to discipline and order, to the right attitude to work, to meet their study obligations; we must not tolerate negative phenomena which occur in the

behavior of some young people. Above all we must forestall this in good time. It is essential to conduct an open dialogue with pupils and students, debate with them topical internal and international political issues and provide knowledgeable answers to them. Ill-informed man can be easily manipulated, and the more so a young person who does not possess enough experience of life.

The socialist society needs real personalities, young people who possess good knowledge and skill as well as the necessary moral qualities, who are able to think independently and orient themselves correctly, assert their view and work honestly. It is also important to develop and improve the quality of young people's education in aesthetic feeling and perception.

It is the task of the school to nurture socialist patriotism in a young person, develop and reinforce in him the awareness that his personal interest to find a good vocation is at one with the interest of the socialist society, that the motherland and home, in which preceding generations lived and which they built by their honest work, constitutes a value to which one cannot be indifferent. At the same time patriotic upbringing is linked closely with the upbringing in socialist internationalism.

The fact that both our nations, the Czechs and Slovaks, as well as the other ethnic minorities are linked together by the ties of fraternal friendship and mutual understanding, ranks among the most precious results of the revolutionary changes in our society. It is necessary to ensure that the awareness of this belonging together, the necessity to strengthen friendly relations with the nations of other socialist countries, the progressive people of our planet, is an enduring life value for every young person.

At the same time it is necessary to stress that the upbringing activity of the school, the entire process of upbringing and education, will not be possible without close cooperation with the family. The school cannot replace its irreplaceable social function and neither can it ever totally fill gaps in the upbringing of children caused by unsuitable family circumstances, especially with regard to emotional and moral aspect of upbringing. At the same time one cannot place disproportionate demands on parents' help in coping with study duties, or to shift on them exclusively the concern regarding the purposeful use of leisure time by children and the youth. Good quality upbringing and education demands that it is not conflicts and mistrust which reign in the relations between the family and the school, but partnership and close cooperation. This presupposes teachers and educators to monitor carefully the behavior of their pupils and students, the development of their abilities and interests so as to know where they excel and where they have problems, and so be able to give the necessary advice to the parents. What is needed from the parents is a realistic view of the possibilities of their children. High demands on the fulfillment of the study duties, cooperation between the school and the family can resolve a number of problems of upbringing among our children and youth.

The requirement of a uniform approach also concerns joint cooperation between the school and the National Front organizations. The participation of union and Pioneer organizations, and also of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, the Czechoslovak Physical Education Association, Svazarm [Union For Cooperation With the Army], the Czechoslovak Scientific-Technical Association, the Socialist Academies, other social and special interest organizations, plants, enterprises, the People's Militia, the Czechoslovak People's Army, and the National Security Corps deserve recognition for developing extracurricular activities for children and young people. It is necessary to further increase the volume of their activity.

With regard to the Socialist Union of Youth and its pioneer organization, it is necessary to ensure that teachers' collectives continue to give them effective assistance in fulfilling the tasks of raising the organization so as to be able to succeed better in developing scientific, technological, ecological, cultural, physical training, and other interest-based activities, including publicly beneficial work, among children and the youth. In the interest of this, it is also necessary to increase the influence and opportunities of the youth organization in the participation in self-management and the improvement of activities by schools and educational facilities. It is also important to adopt specific measures in all schools to ensure that their capacity, material and technical equipment, and support are purposefully utilized for the activity of the pioneer groups, sections, circles, and union and physical education organizations.

The vital significance of man, the human factor in the process of restructuring and democratization, and the demands to significantly increase the quality of the training and education of the young generation which result from this are also projected in the growing demands on your work.

Comrades, what does our party and society expect from teachers, masters of technical training, educators, and educationalists whom you represent? It is above all a high degree of competence, creativity, and initiative, which will manifest itself in a good quality professional, civic, and moral preparation of pupils and students. This presupposes a love of children, personal example, a sense of justice, the art of nurturing in pupils and students, the ability to think independently and to have sensitive perception of things, to absorb knowledge, shape positive attitude to people, physical and intellectual work, values created by the work of others, intensify longing for education, and for gaining knowledge during one's life, and to bring them up as conscious citizens of the socialist state. Only such a teacher and educator can acquire natural authority and the respect of children and young people, which allows a teacher to raise demands on the results of their study, impress in them healthy

optimism and ambitions, and shape their ideological, political, technical, and moral features.

A teacher's status cannot be separated from his role as a citizen in a socialist society. It has become a tradition in our country that a teacher is at the same time frequently a public official. This enables him to know well what is society's concern and be able to influence in a desirable way the process of upbringing and education. Many teachers, educationalists, and educators hold important, time consuming political, public, and social posts, sharing effectively in tackling issues concerning the development of localities, communities, and all society.

We hold in high esteem the civic activity of teachers, the more so because prevailing in their ranks today are women, who beside their profession must also cope with a number of other duties in the family, in particular their mission as mothers. At the same time, the issue is to create prerequisites for a larger representation of men among teachers. A teacher is exposed, as very few people are, to everyday public scrutiny. It is up to the party, state bodies and national committees to contribute, on the basis of the good knowledge of the work by specific teachers' collectives, to strengthening the authority and social prestige of the teaching profession.

The mass media must also help markedly in the systematic implementation of the conclusions of the 13th Party Central Committee session, particularly by popularizing the work results of initiative and committed pedagogues.

An improvement in preparing future teachers is the point to which we need to pay attention. You know best that science and technology is developing at full speed, widening and deepening human knowledge. Thus, every teacher is faced with the requirement of systematic self-education and a constant improvement of one's qualification.

The improved effectiveness of educational work is also linked with solving questions of the material problems in the educational system and people working in this sphere. It concerns building and maintaining schools and school amenities, the modernisation of their material and technical equipment, including the improvement of rewards to teachers, and their social security, housing, health care, etc.

The 13th Party Central Committee session discussed these questions and asked the communists in the leadership of legislative bodies, governments, and national committees to create a way of distributing national income for strengthening the means for developing the educational system. For this we need to increase the formation of assets, and the efficiency and effectiveness of our economy. We embarked upon this road by implementing the comprehensive restructuring of economic management. This also involves ensuring that the resources put into the sphere of education and training, which even today are considerable, are economically and efficiently used by the education administrative organs, the national committees, and that they are used directly in the schools.

What is also necessary is a marked improvement in the quality of managerial work within the educational system—in the Ministry of Education, youth and physical training, in national committees at all levels, and at the same time in every school.

An important requirement in this trend is a democratization of managerial work, and strengthening the powers and independence of schools on the basis of socialist self-management. The amendment of the laws on schools, which is being prepared, aims at this. The management of work by schools and other educational institutions has to get rid at all levels of issuing commands, a bureaucratic approach and petty clerical methods and excessive paper work, which is a burden for teachers and distracts them from their principal activity. At the same time, it is important to increase the responsibility of managerial officials for the situation at schools and the situation of their staff.

Democratization of the educational system requires us to put more trust in teachers and to give them more independence.

The party primary organizations, the party organs, and all Communists who work in the sphere of education and training must play an active role in resolving the tasks of education. This requires that schools pay attention to improving the quality of party ranks and supplementing them, giving an opportunity to those who are interested in party membership and who display this by their honest and selfless work, and by their social commitment. We are convinced that the Communists will do everything to ensure that the tasks of the party's education policy, outlined at the 13th CPCZ Central Committee session, are consistently fulfilled.

The 18th party congress, which will take place next year, will be an important event in the life of the party and our entire society. Its task is to assess comprehensively the results achieved in implementing the program of restructuring and democratization, to draw the necessary conclusions and adopt specific measures for the course to be taken. The most important congress' documents, principles of the CPCZ program, main trends of economic and social development of our country in the next 5-year plan and up to the year 2005, as well as a draft of the new CSSR Constitution will be put forward for public discussion. We expect that pedagogues among our general public will take an active part, that annual party meetings at schools will become a starting point for consistent implementation of the conclusions of the Party Central Committee on education.

For the successful fulfillment of our aims and for peaceful and creative work in bringing up the young generation, it is vitally important that positive tendencies in the development of international relations with respect to detente, the intensification of trust, and the

development of cooperation between nations and peoples be intensified. Our nations, whose territory has many times undergone the destructive havoc of the fires of war, know the price of peace, they have a vital interest in preserving it and in resolving other grave global problems affecting mankind. This is also the main aim of our party and state foreign policy which we are carrying out with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

In the spirit of the new political thinking, we are prepared to continue to contribute to the relaxation of tension in relations between countries with different social systems and we are also prepared to agree to acceptable compromises. In this regard, we attribute a significant role to the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces and to the measures to increase confidence and security in Europe, just as we attribute significance to the Geneva disarmament conference. We also welcome the results achieved in Belgrade at the ninth conference of the Nonaligned Movement, which has just ended. However, we also see a lingering risk and we are convinced that a lasting peace cannot be achieved at the expense of unilateral concessions made by the socialist countries. Each side must honorably give a little way. Sovereignty, noninterference, justice, equality, and mutual benefit—these are the principles for a strong system of international security and for the constructive cooperation of the whole of mankind, principles in whose assertion we are actively participating.

Esteemed comrades, since its foundation the aims of the CPCZ have always been supported by progressive teachers. Many of them fought in the party ranks for social progress, though they were persecuted for it.

The party learned on teachers in the period of revolutionary changes following the liberation; when building the foundations of socialism; in the period of collectivization of our villages. Teachers helped raise millions of workers, farmers, technicians, doctors, scientists and artists—committed and politically mature builders of socialist society. For this we owe them our respect and graditude. [applause]

We respect all those teachers who put all their abilities, talent, and heart into education and into preparing our young generation, and who give considerable effort toward preparing the next generation well, thus enabling honest, industrious people committed to socialism and peace to grow from its midst.

The Communist Party, National Front, and our entire society turns also today with great confidence to teachers, wardens, foremen, to all people working in the sphere of education, to ask them to contribute through their educational skills and public commitment toward a good preparation of our youth for life and work in socialist society. I wish you many successes in fulfilling your noble mission and good health and personal happiness. [applause]

Urbanek: Party's Role Indispensable for Socialism

AU1209180389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Sep 89 p 2

["van" -signed report: "Employing the Method of Political Guidance; Session of the Central Bohemia Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Regional Committee"]

[Excerpts] Kladno (from our correspondent)—The Central Bohemia Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Regional Committee discussed on Thursday [7 September] the regional party organization's current tasks. It also dealt with questions of the education and training of the young generation under conditions of restructuring and expanding socialist democracy.

Josef Haman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the CPCZ Regional Committee, said in the report that much has been done in implementing the resolution of the seventh and the subsequent sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee. The absolute majority of the residents of the region supports the policy of the CPCZ and the National Front. Citizens resolutely reject the attempts of opposition forces to provoke unrest and social confrontation and to attack the socialist system. It is essential that all party organizations and communists intensify political work among the broad strata of the working people in explaining the policy of the party and the National Front. [passage omitted]

Among those who took the floor in the debate were Karel Urbanek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic. He spoke, inter alia, about the practical implementation of the conclusions of the 13th session of the CPCZ Central Committee and in this context he characterized the proposed amendments to the laws on the system of primary and secondary schools and on institutions of higher learning, which have already been discussed by the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic.

He also spoke about current tasks in improving the quality of the CPCZ membership base, describing as the main task the activation of its members and candidate members. It is necessary to create an atmosphere, K. Urbanek stressed, in which communists set an example in enforcing party policy and in restructuring the economic mechanism. The annual members meeting and conferences must give a clear reply to the question of what individual workplaces within the range of the CPCZ primary organization's activities will do for the results of their work to benefit not only individuals but society at large.

In conclusion Comrade Urbanek called attention to the fact that one of the fundamental and firm principles of building socialism is the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party. Experiences confirm that no nation has built and successfully defended socialism without its application.

Hungary Urged To Rescind Decision on Citizens

LD1209175889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1541 GMT 12 Sep 89

["Note from GDR Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Hungarian Foreign Ministry" —ADN Headline]

[Text] Berlin/Budapest, (ADN)—The Government of the German Democratic Republic has noted with displeasure the decision of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic [PR] to make possible emigration by citizens of the German Democratic Republic to third states without valid travel documents. This is stated in a note from the GDR Foreign Ministry, which was handed over to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry in Budapest today. The note further states: "Linked with this step is the fact that the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic has temporarily revoked Articles 6 and 8 and the relevant protocol of the agreement concerning visa-free cross-border travel of 20 June 1969.

The Government of the German Democratic Republic notes that these documents are binding to the same extent for both sides. Neither the bilateral agreements under international law listed above, nor the relevant regulations of the Vienna Convention on the legality of treaties of 23 May 1969, which both states belong to, foresee the possibility of a unilateral suspension of the adopted obligations by the treaty partner. Therefore, the principle of international law, that concluded treaties are to be adhered to and that they are to be fulfilled in good faith, is valid. The Hungarian action represents, with regard to this, a clear violation of treaties valid under international law and, linked with this, a violation of the fundamental interests of the German Democratic Republic. The Hungarian side bears responsibility for the situation which has arisen. Concrete and constructive proposals for a joint solution to the problems which has arisen were set out both in the talks with the foreign minister of the Hungarian PR on 31 August 1989 in Berlin, and in the note of the Foreign Ministry of the German Democratic Republic on 4 September 1989, and again in the state telegram of the foreign minister of the German Democratic Republic on 8 September 1989.

The Hungarian PR was informed comprehensively and without delay about the agreement between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. As is known, this agreement led to all GDR citizens leaving the Permanent Mission of the Federal Republic of Germany in the German Democratic Republic on 8 September 1989 and returning to their homes. It is also further the view of the German Democratic Republic that this solution could have been used for the citizens of the German Democratic Republic who were in Hungary. If the treaties under international law between the German Democratic Republic and the Hungarian PR had been adhered to, the situation which was described as extraordinary by official representatives of the Hungarian PR would not have arisen.

The German Democratic Republic affirms its standpoint that making possible the emigration of citizens of the German Democratic Republic into third states, without those citizens being in possession of valid travel documents from the German Democratic Republic, represents a violation of the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic. At the same time it encourages the presumption by the Federal Republic of Germany of a "caring duty," which is contrary to international law, for state citizens of the German Democratic Republic.

The German Democratic Republic expects the immediate abrogation of the decision of the Hungarian PR to unilaterally suspend individual elements in the agreement to cross-border traffic requiring no visa.

The German Democratic Republic affirms its will to continue the development of friendly relations on the basis of the treaty of friendship, cooperation, and mutual aid, and on the basis of the treaty system which has proven itself in practice. This would serve the fundamental interests of both states, the strengthening of socialism, and the securing of peace.

Politburo Members Criticize FRG 'Attacks'

AU1209181989

[Editorial report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 7 September on Page 4 carries two reports on the opening of the party school year with party aktiv meetings in Karl-Marx-Stadt and Erfurt on 6 September, which were attended by Politburo Member Siegfried Lorenz and Candidate Member Gerhard Mueller respectively.

The first report (700 words) by Gunther Wendekamm about Lorenz's speech at the meeting in Karl-Marx-Stadt, headlined "Deeds Make the Ideals of Socialism Reality," contains the following passage: "'It is the priority assignment of our party to motivate again and again all citizens of our country to make their work place their combat station for peace, where they make the most effective contribution to the strengthening of our republic,' Siegfried Lorenz, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and first secretary of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk leadership, stressed in a speech to party activists of the bezirk in the Karl-Marx-Stadt municipal hall. This is at the same time the best answer to the incredible escalation of the ideological struggle against our Republic, which has been unleashed by the ruling circles of the FRG and its media and which reminds one of the darkest periods of the cold war, he said.

"'What they want is shown by the recently accumulating blunt statements by leading FRG politicians on the overcoming of the division of Europe, on the open German question, and on the re-establishment of the German Reich within the borders of 1937.' Thus, they want to make another attempt to change the European realities which have developed as a result of World War

II and the postwar period for their benefit. Actually, 40 years of GDR should be sufficient to understand that socialism in the GDR cannot be eliminated neither by talking nor by writing. 'These attempts will fail today as they did in the past because of the political stability, the economic dynamism, and the commitment of millions of our citizens.'

"We are interested in further constructive cooperation and in the shaping of good-neighborly relations between the two German states, the speaker explained in this connection. However, attempts by the FRG Government to patronize or interfere, such as the claim to have the obligation to care also for the GDR citizens, can only damage the relations and put all achievements at risk."

The second report (600 words) by Klaus Bliedtner on the speech by Gerhard Mueller, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Erfurt Bezirk leadership, at the aktiv meeting in Erfurt, headlined "Shots at the GDR National Border Were Aimed at the Entire GDR," contains the following passage:

"The past few weeks have not left any doubt, Gerhard Mueller said, that we are in a period of the harshest class struggle. Today's world is characterized by profound changes for the benefit of progress and peace but also by opposite trends and various contradictions. Therefore, it is no wonder that imperialism has started a general attack on socialism. At the moment, FRG imperialism is doing everything to slander socialism in the colors of the GDR, Gerhard Mueller said. When these attacks are primarily aimed against our GDR, this is so because German imperialism has never resigned itself to the fact that a peaceful socialist state has developed on German soil. The shots at our national border which were fired from the Western side on the town of Wahlhausen, Heiligenstadt Kreis, during the night from 17 to 18 August clearly fit this blown-up campaign. One points at a few thousand who betray their fatherland and one aims at 17 million. The shots hit a town and were aimed at the entire GDR."

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 8 September on page 3 carries three reports on the party aktiv meetings in Halle, Magdeburg, and Cottbus on 7 September.

The first report (550 words) by Ute Brockhaus on the speech by Hans-Joachim Boehme, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Halle Bezirk leadership, at the party aktiv meeting in Halle, headlined "Socialism Is as Good as We Make It," contains the following passage:

"In all spheres a broad public discussion is under way about what we have achieved, what has made us make progress, and what we have to do better to continue the course for the benefit of the people in the 1990's. The speaker said that the citizens do not let themselves be deviated from this even by this mean baiting by official FRG representatives, who exploit a small minority for political and ideological broadsides at the GDR, detente, and peace.

"'The interference in the style of the inglorious Home to the Reich campaign [under Hitler] is condemned and rejected by all people who are working industriously these days, fulfill the plans, establish firm foundations for the future, as that which it is: another commando action against our republic to roll back socialism,' the speaker said.

"We will not let ourselves be dragged into that unpredictable morass of a cold war in which everything is trampled which has been built up over the past years in terms of reason and cooperation. We will continue to make our contribution so that the 1990's will become a decade of dialogue and disarmament, cooperation, and peaceful coexistence, the Politburo member stressed. The reaction of the bezirk's working people shows that the more furious the attacks by the FRG become the greater become the efforts to strengthen socialism in the GDR further and make it more attractive."

The second report (600 words) by Birgitt Poetzsch, on the speech by Werner Eberlein, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Magdeburg Bezirk leadership, at the party aktiv meeting in Magdeburg, headlined "We Unerringly Continue the Policy for the Welfare of the People," contains the following passage:

"The opponent is using its not inconsiderable means to distort and play down the values of socialism. Werner Eberlein stressed that in particular today the balance sheet of the goals set 40 years ago is very important. Forty years of GDR are 4 decades of struggle for peace and peaceful construction work. Even more: From the first day of its existence the GDR started to develop a socialist foreign policy which has been aimed at renewing the world in the spirit of peace, democracy, and social progress, at establishing new international relations and thus more favorable external conditions for fulfilling the domestic tasks in shaping a new life."

The third report (600 words) by Hans-Hermann Kroenert on the speech by Werner Walde, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Cottbus Bezirk leadership, at the party aktiv meeting in Cottbus, headlined "Fulfilled Plans—Proof of Good Work by the Working People," contains the following passage:

"It is not surprising that at present malice is being spouted in particular at the GDR, Walde said. 'Imperialism will never forgive us for successfully establishing a worker-peasant state on German soil, for throwing out the monopoly capitalists and the junkers, for eliminating capitalist exploitation, and putting the welfare of the entire people above maximum profit. These are the basic reasons for the enormous escalation of the class conflict in the 40th year of the GDR and for the hateful media campaign of the past weeks."

"Particularly noisy are the revanchists' associations of the FRG, the speaker said—such as the Pan European Union with Otto von Habsburg, the last fossil of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy—which are tolling the anti-GDR bells with the consent of the Bonn government. Even FRG authorities, like the Federal Labor Institute are contributing their share to this. There is hardly any other explanation for the fact that recently its president gave untenable promises for jobs despite millions of unemployed FRG citizens. This arouses the illusion that chances are good in particular for good skilled workers. 'Let us put it frankly: Once again the results of our country's expenditures for training are to disappear across the border. Once again the hour of hypocrisy has come in the FRG,' Werner Walde stressed. 'They preach humaneness and at the same time they abuse people for a scandalous game. When they rattle on about freedom they always mean the freedom of capital, when they talk about the obligation to care for all Germans, they mean their revanchist claims on the GDR and on territories in Poland and the Soviet Union.' A dangerous Greater German madness, which some people had believed gone forever, is again surfacing. 'Together with the anti-fascist and democratic forces in the FRG and in other countries we will do everything so that the brown past will not become the brown present.'"

Krowlikowski, Ligachev Condemn FRG Actions

LD1209163189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1507 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A delegation from the CPSU Central Committee, under the leadership of Politburo member Yegor Ligachev, met on Tuesday in Berlin with Socialist Unity Party of Germany Politburo member Werner Krolikowski. The delegation had arrived in the GDR in the morning for a stay lasting several days to exchange experience between the SED and the CPSU on agricultural and alliance policy.

During the talk Werner Krolikowski and Yegor Ligachev condemned the machinations of certain circles in the FRG, contrary to international law, aimed at manipulating GDR citizens, by means of a whole system of defamation, enticement and lures, to leave their state illegally. Both politicians affirmed the sovereignty and inviolability of the first socialist state of workers and peasants on German soil, the necessity to respect GDR citizenship, and the inviolability of the GDR's borders.

Werner Krolikowski briefed the Soviet guests on the experiences of the SED in organizing and planning socialist agriculture in the GDR, including the development of cooperation between agricultural enterprises and establishments.

Yegor Ligachev explained the present situation in agriculture in the USSR and the varied efforts of the collective farmers and Soviet land laborers to secure the supply of foodstuffs for the population and of raw materials for the national economy. The party therefore devotes particular attention to increasing productivity and efficiency in plant and animal production.

Daily Criticizes Bundestag 'Slander'

AU1209172589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Sep 89 p 5

[ADN correspondent's report from Bonn: "Objectivity and Responsibility Are Required"]

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—The reproaches, slander, and presumptuous claims that were addressed at the GDR in the FRG Bundestag debate on Tuesday [5 September] barely differ from the FRG media spectacle which has been going on for weeks. These attacks by high-ranking politicians in the budget debate constituted a severe interference in the GDR's internal affairs. Not only Chancellor Kohl but also other speakers repeated the FRG's "duty to care" for GDR citizens, which is all too well known but has not yet been consequently legitimized. Loud claims for social changes in the GDR were made. "Reforms" which would simply result in the undermining of all that has been created by millions of GDR citizens in 40 years of hard and creative work were demanded. The atmosphere was determined by demagogy and hypocrisy.

Of course, this debate can be evaluated as an anticipation of the forthcoming election campaign in the FRG. However, more things became apparent. The Bundestag debate revealed the profound contradictions in this country: the serious problems of domestic policy which are ruthlessly placed on the people's backs. By the way, "pan-German" ambitions and illusions about a "roll back" of socialism were again decisive in the exercises for the election campaign. The past has sufficiently proved that policies cannot be made from such unrealistic positions. Results in the interest and for the benefit of the people have always been achieved when mutual esteem and respect, objectivity, and responsibility have determined cooperation. The latest statements in the Bundestag are hardly suited for the promotion of good-neighborly relations between the two German states and the creation of a climate that is required for the solution of such important questions as disarmament.

Tisch in Frankfurt, Protests 'Mudslinging'

LD1209231289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1653 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Frankfurt (Main) (ADN)—At the invitation of the German Trade Union Federation [DGB], the chairman of the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB], Harry Tisch, member of the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee, arrived in the FRG on Tuesday afternoon for talks lasting 4 days. Harry Tisch and his party were greeted by the chairman of the DGB, Ernst Breit, at the Frankfurt/Main airport. The head of the GDR's Permanent Mission in the FRG, Ambassador Horst Neubauer, was present.

Immediately after the arrival, the two trade union chairmen held a first exchange of views on questions of bilateral relations and of the international situation. Moreover, Harry Tisch and Ernst Breit informed one another about current problems faced by the FDGB and the DGB in the field of trade union representation of interests.

First of all, the two sides ageed that this new meeting was the manifestation of positively developing cooperation. In this respect the agreement concluded in May 1987 had proved successful. The interlocuters emphasized that the two countries' relations should be shaped and consolidated in this way with realism and readiness to engage in dialogue in future as well.

The trade union associations also saw this a being a fitting contribution that they could make to the relationship between the GDR and the FRG. In this connection the view was expressed that the principles of equal rights, non-interference, and good-neighborliness should always take precedence.

It was emphasized during the open discussion that the FDGB and the DGB saw a particular responsibility in doing everything possible to ensure that war will never again emanate from German soil, but only peace. They had also stressed this unequivocally at events in Berlin and Dortmund marking the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II. Both sides consider it necessary to continue the disarmament process without respite.

Harry Tisch shared the concern expressed by Ernst Breit about extreme rightwing, revanchist, and neo-Nazi forces in the FRG, which have become stronger. Similarly, declarations made by FRG government politicians about "the continued existence of a German Reich within the 1937 borders" were condemned. The DGB chairman talked about current trade union tasks in the FRG. He emphasized that in this connection the struggle against the enduring high level of unemployment and its social consequences remain the most important concern. In connection with this, Ernst Breit explained the main points of the new DGB action programme. With the construction of the EC Internal Market, new challenges are emerging for the trade unions in the FRG. The DGB chairman spoke in detail about the preparations for the 14th regular general congress of his organization, which will take place in the coming year.

Harry Tisch gave his host an account of how the trade unions in the GDR committed themselves to strengthening socialism for the well-being of the people. This path has proved its worth in the past 40 years and has brought a high degree of social security for all.

During the discussion, the chairman of the FDGB pointed out that the campaign currently being conducted by politicians in the media in the FRG against the GDR met with energetic protest from the trade unions. Many working people also saw this as endangering the state of relations that have been attained and that work to the advantage of the people in both countries.

There are further talks in Heidelberg and in the regional capital of Baden-Wurttemberg on the program for the delegation of the FDGB National Executive Council as well as a meeting with union shop stewards in a Stuttgart company.

Immediately after the welcome, Harry Tisch and Ernst Breit stayed on the tarmac to answer journalists' questions. The guest from the GDR stressed that he is expecting the fresh exchange of views with the DGB to produce agreement on all questions that hold both bilateral and international interest for the two trade unions. These are questions of peace and disarmament, of trade union co-determination, and topics such as modern technology and the role of the trade unions in this process. All questions that affect us were discussed between us, Tisch said. Ernst Breit agreed with the chairman of the FDGB and underlined that for a long time already there have been no questions that the two trade unions have not discussed together.

In response to provocative questions put by FRG journalists about the cloak-and-dagger operation staged by the FRG and its media, Harry Tisch protested against this "mudslinging," as he called it. In spite of all aggressiveness, in spite of all the whipping-up of emotions that is currently going on, the GDR is peacefully and confidently continuing on its way. The socialist German state is not allowing its path to be impeded.

DBD Chairman Rejects FRG 'Interference'

LD1309141489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1202 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The DBD [Democratic Peasant's Party of Germany] has made its own recognized contribution to the emergence and growth of the first socialist state on German soil together with all social forces under the leadership of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany]. This was stressed by DBD chairman Dr Guenther Maleuda, at his party's gala event in Berlin today for the coming 40th anniversary of the GDR. [passage omitted on the role of the DBD in the history of the GDR]

At the gala event the DBD reasserted that it will help, as Dr Maleuda said, "our socialist system to prove itself under the conditions of the 1990's." [passage omitted on cooperation with Soviet Union being beneficial]

The party chairman stressed that socialism has irrevocably taken root in German soil. The existence of two independent and sovereign German states with different social systems, the socialist GDR and the capitalist FRG, is part of the incontravertible realities in Europe anchored in international law. Leading circles in the FRG have not given up their claim to the "whole of Germany" and speak of an "open German question," "a Germany within the frontiers of 1937," and of a "duty to

look after" all Germans. "Our party categorically rejects these presumptions, the current unbridled campaign of hatred, the slanders, and the interference in the GDR'S internal affairs by the FRG. The main aspect of creating truly normal relations between the FRG and the GDR is recognition of GDR citizenship of the FRG's presumption to be the sole representative of Germans."

Refugees in FRG 'Sober' Over Situation

LD1209182289 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] In the reception camps, many GDR citizens wooed and lured into the FRG are already in a thoughtful and sober mood today. ADN reports this evening from Passau that many of them now realize what they have let themselves in for. Even on arrival those wooed away found that they could be given no firm assurances about either a place to live or jobs. Most of them would have no chance to work in jobs for which they were trained. The labor office set up for this served primarily to register the former GDR citizens as unemployed. Reference is made to the already serious housing shortage and unemployment.

Foreign Ministry Says Honecker To Return

LD1209161989 Hamburg DPA in German 1525 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—GDR state and party leader Erich Honecker, who last appeared in public on 14 August, will "resume" his activities "in the foreseeable future" according to the GDR Foreign Ministry. In response to questions from DPA on the state of health of the State Council chairman it was said that: "he is doing well." There was no further information.

Honecker Making 'Slow Progress'

LD1309113689 Hamburg DPA in German 1108 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—According to information from diplomatic and medical circles, hope and intensive medical efforts in the East Berlin Government Hospital are working to ensure that Erich Honecker is well enough to take part in the main celebrations marking the 40th anniversary of the GDR on 7 October. His recovery is making slow progress, according to these reports in East Berlin today. The situation at the beginning of the week was that Honecker was getting up for half an hour in the morning and afternoon in Buch hospital. Honecker is not, apparently, attached to any drip or tube. There is no guarantee, however, that the State Council chairman will be fit enough by 7 October.

Western reports and speculation that Honecker has cancer were denied in East Berlin. The situation is complicated, however, by temporary irregularities in Honecker's heartbeat.

Further on Meetings at Leipzig Autumn Fair

AU1309120589

[Editorial report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German in its issues of 7, 8, and 9-10 September carries a number of reports, totalling 2,800 words, reporting meetings between GDR officials and foreign officials at the Leipzig Autumn Fair on 6, 7, and 8 September, respectively. The paper on 7 September on page 4 carries four unattributed reports, totalling 1,000 words, reporting meetings on 6 September.

The first report (250 words) covers the meeting between Rudi Georgi, GDR minister of machine tool and processing machinery construction, and Vladimir Papanov, USSR first deputy minister of machine tool and toolbuilding industry, during which they discussed "measures for the further deepening of cooperation in machine tool building."

The second report (250 words) deals with the meeting between GDR Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil and Gu Yong Jiang, PRC deputy minister of foreign economic relations and trade, during which they discussed "measures for the further continuous development of exports and imports and economic cooperation." The Chinese politician also met with Martin Hesse, state secretary in the Ministry of Heavy Machinery and Installation Construction, and with directors generals of combines and foreign trade enterprises.

The third report (250 words) describes the meetings between Kostandin Hoxha, deputy foreign trade minister of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania, and Gerhard Beil and Peter Hofmann, deputy minister of ore mining, metallurgy, and potash. A working program on long-term cooperation between the GDR Foreign Trade Chamber and the Albanian Chamber of Commerce was signed by the presidents of the two institutions, Hans-Joachim Lemnitzer and Ligor Dhamo.

The fourth report (250 words) covers the meeting between 'Adnan Majid Al-'Ani, state secretary in the Iraqi Ministry of Industry and Minerals, with Gerhard Beil and Gerhard Tautenhahn, minister of construction of general machinery, agricultural machinery, and vehicles. Gerhard Beil and Senas John Ukpana, trade minister of Nigeria, discussed "possibilities for the further development of economic cooperation." Ukpana had further meetings with ministers Hans-Joachim Lauck and Gerhard Tautenhahn.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on 8 September on page 4 carries four unattributed reports, totalling 700 words, on further meetings between GDR and foreign officials at the Leipzig Autumn Fair on 7 September.

The first report (150 words) covers the meeting between Gerhard Beil and August R. Lang, state minister of economics and labor of Bavaria, FRG, during which "both sides discussed the state and development of economic relations." Beil "expressed the GDR's interest in expanding trade and economic relations with Bavaria

also over the next few years. He came out in favor of a further increase in the proportion of investment goods and products of electrical engineering and electronics."

The second report (150 words) deals with the meeting between Takis Nemitsas, minister of commerce and industry of the Republic of Cyprus, and Gerhard Beil, during which Nemitsas "expressed the interest of Cyprus to further expand cooperation with the GDR." The two ministers "discussed measures for this purpose, in particular in the field of light industry and electrical engineering, agriculture, and transportation equipment." Nemitsas also met with Light Industry Minister Werner Buschmann; Gerhard Tautenhahn, minister of construction of general machinery, agricultural machinery, and vehicles; Martin Hesse, state secretary in the Ministry of Heavy Machinery and Installation Construction; and Walter Maennel, deputy minister of agriculture, forestry, and foodstuffs industry.

The third report (150 words) covers the meeting between Hans Joachim Lemnitzer, president of the GDR Foreign Trade Chamber, with Jose Maria Vernet, economics minister of the Province of Buenos Aires (Argentina). Lemnitzer also met with Horst Kramp, president of the Berlin (West) Chamber of Industry and Commerce.

The fourth report (250 words) deals with the meeting between more than 200 merchants and scientists from the FRG with their partners from GDR foreign trade enterprises and combines, which was also attended by Wolfgang Steger, main department head in the Foreign Trade Ministry, as well as the members of the board of governors of the FRG-GDR Trade Association with First Chairman Heinz Weseloh.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on 9-10 September on page 5 carries eight unattributed reports, totalling 1,100 words, on meetings between GDR and foreign officials at the Leipzig Autumn Fair on 8 September.

The first report (100 words) covers the meeting between Guenther Wyschofsky, GDR minister of chemical industry, and Anastasi Donchev, chairman of the "Biotechnology and Chemical Industry" Association of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The second report (150 words) deals with the meeting between Siegfried Hanne, state secretary in the Ministry of Chemical Industry, and Alejandro Roca Iglesias, Cuban minister of food industry, during which they dicussed "the state of construction of chemical facilities by the GDR in Cuba." Roca Iglesias also met with Gerhard Tautenhahn and Walter Maennel.

The third report (80 words) covers the meeting beween Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Dietrich Lemke with Gehorghe Botar, director general of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The fourth report (100 words) deals with the meeting between State Secrettary Stubenrauch and Eberhard Reuther, chairman of the board of directors of Koerber Corporation (FRG).

The fifth report (100 words) covers the meeting between Martin Hesse, state secretary in the Ministry of Heavy Machinery and Installation Construction, with Takis Nemitsas, minister of commerce and industry of the Republic of Cyprus.

The sixth report (120 words) deals with the meeting between Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil and Guenther Herion, president of the Main Association of German Construction Industry, on 7 September, during which they disucssed "possibilities to further expand and deepen cooperation in realizing construction projects and construction services also in third countries." Herion was also received by Construction Minister Wolfgang Junker.

The seventh report (200 words) covers the meeting between Minister Gerhard Tautenhahn and Kafi Baprui Asante, secretary of education and culture of the Republic of Ghana. Asante was also received by Felix Meier, GDR minister of electrical engineering and electronics.

The eighth report (200 words) covers the meeting between Klaus Stubenrauch, state secretary in the Ministry of Science and Technology, and Horst Schmid, general representative for trade and tourism of the provincial government of Alberta, Canada.

Axen Talks With Philippine Communist Leader

LD1209045589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1747 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and the Philippine Communist Party want to continue and deepen their fraternal cooperation, which has lasted for decades, SED Politburo member Hermann Axen and Merlin Magallona, general secretary of the Philippine Communist Party Central Committee, stressed in talks in Berlin on Monday.

During the discussion, Hermann Axen explained the GDR's foreign policy, which is aimed at securing peace, achieving rapid disarmament, and practicing cooperation, and which actively serves to implement socialism's program of peace, while countering the arms race and the attempts by aggressive military circles in the West to interfere.

Merlin Magallona underlined that the Philippine Communist Party supported the worldwide guaranteeing of peace and security. Together with other democratic forces in the country, it was fighting for the removal of the U.S. military bases in the Philippines and for the region to be free of nuclear weapons.

Honecker Sends Message to Angola's Dos Santos

LD0809131989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1719 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, expressed the firm solidarity of the GDR with the policy of the People's Republic of Angola directed towards peace, inner stability, and social progress in a message to Chairman of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola Party of Labor and President of the People's Republic of Angola Jose Eduardo dos Santos. The GDR supported at the same time the efforts of the Angolan Government to settle the armed clashes and to defuse tensions in the region.

Erich Honecker's message was conveyed to the Angolan head of state on Wednesday in Belgrade by GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Dr Heinz-Dieter Winter. Jose Eduardo dos Santos stressed that his government would do everything to bring about a peaceful settlement for Angola and good-neighbourly relations in the region on the basis of all the principles agreed upon at the middle of May this year in Gbadolite (Zaire).

Greetings Sent to Drnovsek on Appointment

AU0809130989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Sep 89 p 1

[ND report: "Congratulations to Chairman of the Belgrade Summit"]

[Text] East Berlin—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent the following congratulatory telegram to Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, on his appointment as chairman of the Ninth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Nonaligned Movement:

Dear Comrade Drnovsek:

I convey to you cordial congratulations on your appointment to the high office of chairman of the Ninth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Nonaligned States.

The GDR highly appreciates the work of the nonaligned states for peace, security and international cooperation and will continue to support all the constructive initiatives of their movement in the interest of a fruitful development of the peoples.

I wish you success in the responsible tasks placed upon you and your country by the Nonaligned Movement.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council.

Honecker Sends Condolences to Castro on Crash

AU0809130189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Sep 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Serious Plane Crash in Cuba Claims 125 Lives"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent the following condolences to Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and chairman of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, on the serious plane crash in Havana, which claimed 125 lives during the night Monday [4 September]: "On the occasion of the tragic plane crash, I send you my most profound condolences on behalf of the State Council and the people of the GDR. I also ask you to convey our sincere sympathy to the relatives of the victims."

New Science Institute Director Appointed

AU0809151789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Academy Institute Gets New Director"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin (ADN)—On Tuesday [5 September] Werner Scheler, president of the GDR Academy of Sciences, appointed Michael Oettel new director of the Microbiology and Experimental Therapy Central Institute of the Academy of Sciences in Jena. [passage omitted]

U.S. To Bestow Most Favored Nation Status

LD1209121889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] The U.S. President is willing to grant Hungary, on a permanent basis, most favored nation status in trade, if the Budapest parliament adopts the bill on free emigration. This information was given to the press by White House and U.S. State Department spokesmen. If the Hungary emigration law is adopted, then not only will the United States grant general tax concessions, but the Washington government bureau which supports and guarantees U.S. investments abroad will probably extend its activity to Hungary.

Cocom Concessions To be Sought From U.S.

LD0809161989 Budapest MTI in English 1000 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 8, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—Hungary intends to raise the issue of easing Cocom restrictions on U.S. exports to Hungary with a top-level US trade delegation due to visit Hungary in the middle of September, Mr Endre Juhasz, deputy director at the Hungarian Ministry of Trade, said in a statement to MTI- Econews.

The Hungarian Government will propose that the two governments reach a new general agreement more favourable to Hungary. Should this not be possible the Hungarians will push for concessions on a case-by-case basis.

In practice very few US products are actually refused export licences to Hungary. The problem lies in the fact that many companies do not even put in an application to export here while there is a possibility that it may be turned down.

Akhromeyev: Demilitarization 'Internal Affair'

LD1209214289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev's military adviser has described the Budapest proposal for the western border region to be turned into a demilitarized zone as a Hungarian internal affair. The resolve has nothing to do with the Warsaw Pact, said Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev.

10,000 GDR Refugees Cross by Noon 12 Sep

LD1209182989 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Excerpt] [Presenter] Competent sources today denied yesterday evening's statistics on further arrivals after the departure of the first human flood. So much, by way of introduction, before today's situation-report:

[Reporter] Two hundred people are still waiting for travel documents in the Zugliget camp, today. However, everyone has already left Csilleberc. By noon today, more than 10,000 GDR citizens had crossed the border at Sopron and Hegyeshalom. After a brief stay in Austria, 10 returned.

The Gyor border guards deny rumors to the effect that new refugees are arriving en masse from Czechoslovakia. Altogether, 103 have come, and 3 tried at dawn today to flee to Hungary by boat on the Danube between Rajka and Szob. [passage omitted]

Papers Condemn ADN Reaction to Refugee Handling

LD1209131589 Budapest MTI in English 0917 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 12 (MTI)—Wide coverage is given in Tuesday's Hungarian press about the government's decision relating to the GDR citizens staying in Hungary, with the intention of settling in the FRG, including related international reactions.

Elaborating on the government's decision to temporarily suspend the validity of some of the articles of the tourism agreement signed 20 years ago with the GDR, the article in the government daily "MAGYAR HIRLAP" points out:

"It is no doubt that such a measure was introduced for the first time in the history of countries being members of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, but the causes that compelled the Hungarian Government to take these measures are very obvious and explicit, namely the untenable situation that evolved by the country's western border during the past weeks. For reasons beyond our control, the situation of many thousand GDR tourists became unbearable in Hungary. The country cannot ulitmately serve as an enormous refugee camp either, in order to suit the disposition of some.

It is much regrettable that presently there are still some - even among our allies—who did not receive the governments decision with understanding. It seems as if they were uninformed that the Hungarian policy, also devoted to the world and universal civil interests, has recently undergone a change from previous years or compared to that of two decades earlier. We do not wish to conceal the fact that we are endeavouring to achieve that state borders unite, instead of separate countries and peoples.

Hungary suspected that its decision would not be welcomed in Berlin. Although we are not advocates of secret diplomacy, we have been endeavouring to keep possible solutions of this sensitive issue on the track of mutual trust. The failure to do so is no fault of ours. The German Democratic Republic continues to be an important partner and ally to Hungary—also in the light of our 40 years of friendship. We do not therefore consider it expedient that following day-x some far-reaching and extreme consequences should be drawn in Berlin on the Budapest decision. It is even less justifyable to accuse Hungary with "man smuggling" and with accepting "head-money". Not even when the news agency of the

GDR, in its first "obligatory indignation" did so. We would like to ascertain that the official opinion of Berlin is not in line with this", concludes the article in MAGYAR HIRLAP.

Relating to the Sunday evening reaction of the ADN news agency, the article of the newspaper "NEPSZABADSAG" points out:

"The ADN mentions a secret campaign, interfering with the GDR's internal affairs. What is more, it talks about an organised man smuggling, under the cover os so-called humane deliberations.

In other words, these are not only hard but unusually offending words from a state news agency. The wording of the text cannot be termed customary among the civilised nations for settling their diplomatic differences, and we ourselves have grown unaccustomed to it. The expression "kraftausdruck" is no doubt familiar to our friends in the GDR, i.e. a "strong expression"... The problem arises when the power of argument is lacking behind the verbal force, like in this case. It would be useless however to yield to temptation and give a reply of similar tone to the ADN. We do not wish to deepen conflicts but are seeking solutions in the process of developing bilateral ties.

The apparent aim of the news agency's communique is to hold Hungary responsible for such a development in which the country can in no way be held guilty. We did not encourage the GDR tourists to come here, and definitely did not try to dissuade anyone from returning to their country. But in this case we are talking about adult persons, who cannot be barred from chosing their own place of habitation. It is also obvious that such a decision is very hard to make. We are living in Europe, on the threshold of the 1990s. How could a country which permits is own citizens to live where they wish to, expel citizens of another country for the same reason. This would be a manifestation of hypocrisy, which we all had our share of in the past.

It is a fact that the situation which evolved at the country's western borders threatened to lead to unforseeable consequences, even endangering the life of border guards at times. Such a situation cannot be tolerated by any sovereign country.

A sentence of the ADN communique mentions "organised man smuggling" which is deeply distressing. So far only the right wing West German newspaper commentators, of rich fantasy permitted themselves this supposition, being a ludicrous and absurd insinuation. It is not the case that "head-money" is an outdated practice in Europe, being closely associated with man smuggling. But it is not us who avail themselves of this practice. They should be looked for somewhere else", concludes the article in Tuesday's issue of "NEPSZABADSAG".

Ambassador to FRG Interviewed on Relations

AU1209133889 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Sep 89 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Istvan Horvath, Hungarian ambassador in Bonn, by Bonn correspondent Sandor Gyori: "Hungarian-FRG Relations Must Not Be Endangered—Istvan Horvath Interviewed by NEPSZABADSAG"—in Bonn, date not given]

[Text] Istvan Horvath received our Bonn correspondent Sandor Gyori and gave him an interview, which we publish here:

[Gyori] How does the GDR refugee issue affect Hungarian-FRG relations?

[Horvath] The problem is so new that I also have to formulate this question for myself. As is well-known, we have outstandingly good relations with the FRG, which are mutually highly appreciated. On this basis, we are trying to find a solution to this problem in accordance with the spirit of Helsinki and by taking humanitarian factors very closely into consideration. We are talking here about providing assistance because, according to our well-known position, it is up to the two German states to settle the refugee issue. However, this affair should not cast a shadow on Hungarian-FRG relations.

[Gyori] The FRG press hints at a secret agreement between Budapest and Bonn concerning the refugee issue, an agreement allegedly signed during the top-level talks. Does such an agreement really exist?

[Horvath] I also accompanied Premier Miklos Nemeth and Foreign Minister Gyula Horn to their talks in Bonn. In view of this, I can state that no such agreement exists.

[Gyori] So far, various sources, mainly FRG sources, have suggested the possibility of an early solution to the problem. However, all of a sudden, both sides seem to be trying to reduce expectations. Has there been some change?

[Horvath] During the talks with the FRG Government, we mutually agreed that increased publicity would not help to find a solution to the refugee problem. Clearly, the FRG mass media is unable to accept this position. Referring to various—mostly unidentified—sources, the FRG mass media is disseminating a series of wrong information. I am thinking here primarily of the mass transit of refugees "forecast" for this weekend. I can say with a clear conscience that Hungarian sources did not spread this rumor. Both governments are trying to put the artificially increased expectations into normal perspective. At the same time, let me say that unfounded statements on either side will not help in finding a solution.

[Gyori] Some newspaper reports claim to have discovered a connection between the refugee problem and the assistance requirements of the Hungarian foreign economic policy. Is there any such connection?

[Horvath] There is no such connection and it is pointless to forcibly seek such a connection, all the more so because our government did not invite any GDR refugee here, nor will it do so. It would be unfair and illogical to present an unexpected event that nobody could foresee and which is traceable to causes that have nothing to do with us as a means at the disposal of the Hungarian Government to apply pressure against somebody.

I see nothing wrong in the assistance provided by the FRG and Austrian charity organizations to their Hungarian partners in overcoming the many problems connected with caring for the refugees. I believe we also need this assistance, because it is quite costly to provide accommodation and food for many thousands of people. These charity organizations did the same when, all of a sudden, we had to care for several thousands of Romanian refugees.

[Gyori] Irrespective of these problems, how are our economic relations developing, and what consequences can we expect from the surprising Nemeth-Kohl meeting in Bonn?

[Horvath] As for the word "surprising," we had planned this meeting for a long time. The fact that the meeting took place in the FRG was primarily due to Foreign Minister Genscher's illness.

The talks placed great emphasis on the issue of economic cooperation. It was important for us to know how much international assistance—including considerable support from Bonn—the Hungarian Government can count on, a Hungarian Government which intends to consistently implement political and economic reforms. We were happy to see that, also as a result of the recent favorable changes, the FRG, which welcomes our reforms, is ready to accelerate the ongoing talks and successfully conclude them within a short time. Chancellor Kohl promised Miklos Nemeth full support in the Hungarian endeavor to have the EEC apply general preferential customs treatment to Hungary and reduce the duty on some Hungarian agricultural products. The FRG will also use its influence with the EEC to make them provide additional active support for the restructuring of the Hungarian economy.

[Gyori] As a result, can we expect an increase in the role played by West German capital in Hungary?

[Horvath] We are pushing for an agreement with small- and medium-size enterprises in Baden-Wurttemberg and Bavaria to deepen their cooperation with Hungarian partners. A division of labor is emerging slowly, according to which Bavaria and Baden-Wurttenmberg are building the most intensive cooperation with Hungary, while North-Rhein-Westfalia, Lower Saxony, and Hesse are developing direct contacts with Poland.

Because small- and medium-size enterprises are playing a considerable role in Baden-Wurttemberg and in Bavaria, it is understandable that they also want a share in the Hungarian-FRG economic cooperation. These enterprises can contribute to accelerating our technical development and to our restructuring efforts, and, on their part, through this cooperation, they will strengthen the private sector in Hungary. The FRG is providing an adequate financial and economic background for all this.

At the same time, we are also counting on progress in modernizing the participation of West German capital in Hungarian large-scale enterprises. One of the concrete possibilities for assistance is providing help to the Hungarian steel industry, including the Ozd Steel Combine which is struggling with many problems. Let me also mention the fact that Baden-Wurttemberg wants to set up a trade and exhibition center in Hungary. A considerable increase in cooperation and its timing could provide important assistance in shaping the Hungarian reform policy.

[Gyori] Finally, although in a particular sense, the possibility of mutually eliminating the visa requirements has come to the fore in recent days. What can we expect?

[Horvath] There is no change in our position: In accordance with the basic principles of the Helsinki Final Document, we are also ready to mutually abolish the visa requirement not only with the FRG but also with all the other Western European countries. As for our mutual relations with the FRG, we regard our last year agreement on partial visa abolishing and easing the issue of visas as progress. We hope that we will have a full visa exemption soon. The current practice continues to hinder the broadening of our economic and financial relations and the increase in direct contacts between our people.

Budapest TV Notes Gerasimov Comment on Refugees

LD1209190189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman has described as unusual the Hungarian measure taken in the matter of the GDR citizens staying in Hungary. According to Gennadiy Gerasimov, the event may rightly cause concern in Moscow, since two allies of the Soviet Union are at issue in the matter. Gerasimov was unwilling to add any further comment to this.

Nemeth Thanks Churches for Helping GDR Citizens

LD1209202889 Budapest MTI in English 1750 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 12 (MTI)—As reported on September 8, Hungarian church leaders addressed a letter to Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth concerning the affair of GDR citizens who sought resettlement in the FRG.

In his return letter, Mr Nemeth expressed thanks to the churches for their attitude and assistance to the GDR citizens concerned. "With this attitude, you rendered support to thousands of people in their plight and helped

the government solve the situation that generated serious tension and grave problems.

"We are aware that the step has not settled the basic problem but it does not fall within our competence. It is an exclusive affair of the two German states.

"We handled the issue as a humanitarian affair and, on this basis, the government made every effort to find a solution which you also urged.

"Now we are starting a new phase of cooperation between the churches and the government," runs the letter by Mr Nemeth.

GDR's Lembke Views Economic Relations

AU1209204589 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 8 Sep 89 p 11

[Interview with GDR Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Dietrich Lembke by unidentified correspondent: "We Asked the Question at the Leipzig Fair—What Are the Hungarian-GDR Economic Relations Like?"—in Leipzig; date not given]

[Text] The Hungarian firms have again come to the Leipzig Fair with a wide variety of goods. On this occasion, we asked Dietrich Lembke the following questions:

[Question] How do you evaluate the development of GDR- Hungarian economic relations?

[Lembke] The GDR and Hungary have been mutually interesting and stable trade partners. We exceeded R2 billion in trade for the first time in 1988: Compared with 1987, our turnover increased by 5 percent. Our mutual exchange of goods for this year is also generally positive. Compared with the same period last year, our turnover will increase by 4 percent. The Hungarian-GDR balance of payments continues to be stable. On the eve of the Leipzig Autumn Fair, we succeeded in fulfilling this year's expectations almost entirely. We expect further trade contracts at the Leipzig Fair and, subsequently, at the Budapest Autumn Fair, and with these contracts, we will be able to fulfill all the stipulations of the trade protocol for 1989. This progress and stability are based on GDR-Hungarian agreements like the long-term trade agreements, the annual trade protocols, and specialization and cooperation contracts, that is, on sound forms of our mutual cooperation.

[Question] What do you expect from the business contracts to be signed by Hungarian and GDR enterprises at the Leipzig Autumn Fair?

[Lembke] Half of the total value of the trade turnover is coordinated and contracted at the Spring and Autumn Leipzig Fair each year. The participation of Hungarian enterprises again shows the great demand for business contracts, particularly for 1990. Ikarus Enterprises are again present among the traditional large- scale Hungarian enterprises that exhibit their products here. At an earlier date, we already signed a contract on the supply of buses for 1990. The contract of the Chemokomplex Foreign Trade Enterprise also present in Leipzig on the supply of a refinery by 1992 is also based on such cooperation.

[Question] What is your opinion about the proposals and ideas of the Hungarian economic circles according to which the trade between CEMA countries should be based on new foundations, and I here I mean accounting in convertible currency?

[Lembke] We have not yet received an official proposal on that from Hungary. So far, we have had good experience with the Hungarian foreign trade enterprises and with our cooperation based on sound methods. Thus, our exchange of goods developed positively. We are interested in maintaining the stability of our exchange of goods to the benefit of our future economic cooperation.

HSDP-FRG Democrats Discuss Debt Crisis

LD0809171789 Budapest MTI in English 1249 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 8, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—The policy group of the recently re-formed Hungarian Social Democratic Party [HSDP] Policy Group, meeting on Thursday, defined its economic policy as one which rejects the restoration of the 'primitive capitalist system' and selling off of Hungarian companies to foreign interests, while at the same time endorsing the 'socialisation' of property and the expansion of market relations with the West, provided these are not at the expense of ties with Eastern Europe.

The group met following the return on Wednesday of party representative Mr Gyorgy Ruttner from a visit to West Germany. Mr Ruttner held talks with prominent SPD [Socialist Democratic Party of Germany] leaders including Willy Brandt and Hans-Jochen Vogel, and with senior representatives of the CDU [Christian Democratic Union] and the FDP [Free Democratic Party].

It was agreed that the SPD and the HSDP will work out detailed proposals for tackling Hungary's debt crisis and easing the country's serious economic problems. The West German Social Democrats declared in a joint communique published on Thursday by 'MAGYAR HIRLAP', the government's daily that Hungary should become a full member of the European Community in the reasonably near future and that Cocom restrictions on Hungarian imports should be lifted.

The HSDP wants a socialised market economy to emerge as a result of gradual development and not revolutionary change, within the framework of a welfare state and the shared interests of capital and the workforce.

The Social Democrats see the transitional stage, which it recognises will not be free from inevitable tensions, as a kind of 'semi-corporative' system, with capital, labour and state having to coordinate their interests.

They reject the selling of Hungarian companies to foreign investors on the grounds that the resultant inflow of capital would be insufficient for any substantial increase in national liquidity, and will inevitably be followed by a large-scale 'creaming-off' of profits out of the country.

Venezuela's Perez Arrives for Official Visit

LD0809123989 Budapest MTI in English 1103 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 8 (MTI)—Carlos Andres Perez, president of the Republic of Venezuela, arrived on an official visit to Hungary on Friday at the invitation of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic. The president is to hold talks with his hosts and leading government and Hungarian Socialist Workers Party officials.

Received by Nyers

LD0809203889 Budapest MTI in English 1849 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 8 (MTI)—Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, met on Friday in Budapest Carlos Andres Perez, president of the Republic of Venezuela and leader of the ruling Democratic Action Party. Mr Perez arrived in Hungary on Friday for an official visit, meeting an invitation from the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic. At the cordial talks, the sides exchanged views about bilateral relations, international issues, and agreed that their parties would set up official relations.

Meets With Straub, Nyers

LD0809230389 Budapest MTI in English 2125 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 8 (MTI)—As reported, Carlos Andres Perez, president of the Republic of Venezuela, arrived in Budapest on Friday for an official visit. He is meeting an invitation from the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic. President Perez is the first head of state of a Latin American country to visit Hungary. The visit of Mr Perez, who was elected for the second time after ten years, is one of his first trips abroad.

During the day, Mr Perez held talks with his host, F Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council, and with Peter Medgyessy, deputy prime minister, and Rezso Nyers, president of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party]. The visit of the Venezuelan president can be termed a new stage in Hungarian-Venezuelan relations, it provided an opportunity to explore further possibilities of bilateral, mainly economic cooperation.

In Parliament building, Mr Perez met with representatives of the Hungarian and international press. He noted that progress had been particularly made in economic cooperation in the course of his talks with Hungarian leaders. Mr Perez said Hungary has technological and development experiences which can be well utilized in Venezuela. He stressed they wish to extend, and further intensify bilateral relations by relying on direct information. It was agreed that a delegation of Venezuelan experts would visit Hungary within two months. The members of the delegation will include entrepreneurs in the private sector, and company leaders. The Hungarian side is expected to participate in the development of Venezuelan health care. A cooperation agreement is set for signing between a Venezuelan private firm and the Hungarian aluminium industry trust. Plans for the future include the founding of a Venezuelan-Hungarian joint venture.

Discussing his talks with Mr Nyers, the president announced they had agreed to elevate relations between the HSWP and the Democratic Action Party to an official level. Mr Perez also invited a delegation of the HSWP to visit Venezuela.

The president also said he would like to meet with representatives of other Hungarian parties. He said he specially requested a meeting with representatives of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary.

The experts accompanying Mr Perez held talks with their Hungarian partners on Friday. They exchanged views on the experiences of further developing the popular representation system so far, foreign relations, and possibilities to intensify cooperation in trade, industry and transport. According to information received by MTI, it was agreed at talks between Venezuelan Foreign Minister Reinaldo Figueredo Planchart and Laszlo Kovacs, Hungarian secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry, that by intensifying their cooperation, small and medium countries should create circumstances in the current favourable international climate which can prevent a possible deterioration in the international situation.

Gabriela Febres Cordero, chairwoman of the Venezuelan Foreign Trade Institute, met Minister of Trade Tamas Beck. The sides reviewed the development of bilateral trade relations in detail. Talks also included establishing cooperation in aluminium and non-ferrous metals metallurgy. The sides see possibilities for Hungarian participation in projects included in the development plans of the Venezuelan state sector.

F Bruno Straub hosted a gala dinner in honour of President Perez in Parliament building on Friday evening. The two heads of state delivered toasts.

Ends Visit, Departs

LD0909164489 Budapest MTI in English 1550 GMT 9 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 9 (MTI)—Carlos Andres Perez, president of the Republic of Venezuela, who had paid an official visit to Hungary at the invitation of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, left Budapest on Saturday.

Earlier, Mr Perez met Tibor Baranyai, a leader of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary (SDPH). The Venezuelan president asked his Hungarian hosts to make it possible for him to meet a representative of the SDPH since he is also vice-president of the Socialist International, and the Democratic Action, the ruling party of Venezuela, is also a social democratic party.

According to MTI's information, Mr Baranyai informed the Venezuelan president on the situation of the SDPH. He said that his party had applied for admission to the Socialist International, or more exactly, for the restoration of its former rights. President Perez assured his guest that he would support the request. The sides discussed the possibilities of settling the debt crisis. At the end of the meeting, Mr Baranyai invited the Democratic Action Party to the November congress of the SDPH.

On Saturday, a Venezuelan private firm and the Hungarian Aluminium Trust signed an agreement at the residence of the Venezuelan ambassador, in the presence of Mr Perez.

Reciprocal Consulates To Be Opened With Chile

LD0809175489 Budapest MTI in English
1559 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 8 (MTI)—The Hungarian People's Republic and the Republic of Chile have agreed, through their embassies in Vienna, to set up chief consulates in the capitals of Hungary and Chile.

Horn Meets Visiting Finnish Education Official

LD0809123289 Budapest MTI in English
1056 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 8 (MTI)—Gyula Horn, minister of foreign affairs, met Jaakko Numminen, state secretary for the Ministry of Public Education in Finland and president of the Finnish section of the Hungarian-Finnish Cultural Mixed Committee, in his office on Friday. Mr Numminen is in Budapest to attend the anniversary session of the signing of the cultural agreement between the two countries 30 years ago and to sign a cultural, educational and scientific working schedule for the period between 1989 and 1992.

Gyula Horn and Jaakko Numminen praised the exemplary state of Hungarian-Finnish relations, stressing the interest and readiness of the two countries to assist the approach between the different parts of Europe.

Mr Numminen said that the Finnish Government followed with great attention and fellow feeling Hungarian endeavours to modernize Hungary and carry through political and economic reform.

Nyers Receives Afghan, Finnish Ambassadors

LD0809203989 Budapest MTI in English
1930 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 9 (MTI)—Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, received the introductory visit of Ashmatullah Aurang, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Afghanistan accredited to Hungary. The president of the HSWP received the farewell visit of Arto Mansala, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Finland.

Further on MSZMP Central Committee Session

To Resume on 13 Sep

LD1209203389 Budapest MTI in English
1904 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 12 (MTI)—The Central Committee [CC] of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party started a session in Budapest on Tuesday. The CC heard a report on progress in the trilateral political talks, the theses of the report to be put forward to the forthcoming party congress, and the party's draft manifesto and statutes.

The session will continue on Wednesday. As scheduled, the Central Committee will discuss organizational issues concerning the congress, the strategy relating to the world economic opening and the European policy, a report on economic processes in 1989 and a proposal for the guidelines of economic policy for 1990. The Central Committee is to take a position on the cooperative movement.

Session Continues

LD1309091289 Budapest MTI in English
0732 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 13 (MTI)—The session of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party continued in Budapest on Wednesday. According to the agenda announced, the delegates will debate over the organisational questions relating to the forthcoming party congress and the HSWP strategy relating to the world economic opening and the Europe policy. The agenda also includes the report on the economic processes in 1989 and the proposal for the guidelines of economic policy programme for 1990. The body is to take a position on the cooperative movement.

Government Spokesman Holds Press Conference

AU0509092289 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 1 Sep 89 pp 1,5

[Report by Correspondents Peter Faro and Maria Lakatos: "Council of Ministers Holds Session—Legal Regulations on Settling the Refugee Problems—Restructuring Should Continue—Report on Roundtable Talks—Press Conference by Acting Government Spokesman Zsolt Bajnok"—in Budapest on 31 August]

[Excerpts] At the press conference following the government session on 31 August, MAGYAR HIRLAP Chief

Editor Zsolt Bajnok briefed the journalists on the extremely lively and multilateral debate held by the government. [passage omitted]

Following the report, Zsolt Bajnok answered the journalists' questions.

Hungarian Radio: What is the government or the spokesman's position on the issue of Hungarian citizens arrested and convicted in the CSSR? Is this not part of the war of nerves waged in order to force the construction of the Bos-Nagymaros river barrage?

Zsolt Bajnok: I will tell you my own position here. I think all of us must start from the premise that settled, normal, and good friendly relations between the two countries is a mutual Hungarian and CSSR interest, and good neighborly relations should also characterize our bilateral relations in the future. Therefore, the Hungarian diplomacy used in this affair was the so-called quiet diplomacy starting from the premise that we do not interfere in each other's internal affairs and that, in our view, the CSSR authorities regarded the affair of the two Hungarian young people more serious than it really was. This position led to our diplomatic steps which have already been made public. The important thing is that we have put an end to this affair. As to the intentions behind this and what could have been the reason behind the "too heavy" treatment of the two Hungarian young people, I cannot say anything, particularly on the basis of presumptions. As for the future, I will only say that we are striving to solve problems on the basis of mutual interests, with patience, common sense, and understanding, and we expect and demand the same from our Czech partners. [passage omitted]

FIGYELO: Government Commissioner Laszlo Somogy held a press conference on the issue of a possible Budapest-Vienna world exhibition. A lot of stages have already passed on this subject but one is somehow unable to see the prevailing concept today. Does the government have some kind of concept on this issue, and if so, could we know what it is?

Zsolt Bajnok: I think the question is justified because public opinion is increasingly concerned about this issue. The public is interested not only on the final location of the exhibition grounds but also in whether we are not late in our preparations.

According to the current state of affairs, I can say that the pace and direction of our preparations are not lagging behind the plans. [passage omitted]

MAGYAR NEMZET: How will the status of refugees change once the new legal regulations on this issue become valid?

Zsolt Bajnok: I can say in advance that their status will definitely become more settled and they will be able to shape their own future and actually choose where they want to live. The current unsettled situation full of unanswered questions will be replaced by a legal status compatible with international regulations, and this is definite progress in this matter. [passage omitted]

Nyers, Barabas Meet, Talk With Church Officials

LD0709212889 Budapest MTI in English 1808 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 7 (MTI)—Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and Janos Barabas, member of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Political Executive Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, held talks on Thursday in Parliament building with leading personalities of the Hungarian churches about the relations between the party and religion, the party and the churches.

Mr Nyers discussed in detail the July 28 resolution of the HSWP Central Committee, which no longer restricts the freedom of conscience of the party members. It was stressed at the meeting that the most important issue, and task, of solving the country's problems is to hold the conflicts that naturally accompany transformation within the frameworks of social peace.

Following the meeting, Mr Nyers told journalists that the HSWP sees possibilities for contacts with the churches in many areas. He added: As a party politician, he coordinated the points of view of his party with the national goals, and with the concept of the churches. The meeting was held about principles of relations, however, many concrete issues were also discussed. For instance, the role of churches in education, in social-welfare activity. World outlook issues were also raised, in connection with freedom of conscience and religion, the ranking of these among human rights. In this respect, the current position of the churches and the HSWP is near to each other, and is even identical in issues of essence. Stressing his personal views, Mr Nyeres said that the churches have, and will continue to have a positive social role in many areas.

'The meeting with representatives of the HSWP is the first step on the road that seeks the place and role of the churches in the emerging multi-party system democracy', reformed Bishop Karoly Toth, president of the Ecumenical Council of Hungarian Churches, summarized his experiences. In his view, all church personalities were satisfied to note that Mr Nyers accepted their intention of holding talks with all parties after the current meeting.

Cardinal Laszlo Paskai, primate and archbishop of Esztergom, president of the Hungarian Catholic Episcopacy, said that the current meeting promotes the positive development of the changed views with respect to religion and the church.

He termed it favourable, that the HSWP dissociates itself from the measures passed in 1948, which carried the restriction of the operation of churches.

Government To Amend Law on Privatization

LD0809170989 Budapest MTI in English 1159 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 8, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—The Hungarian Government is to introduce new laws on the implementation of its privatisation programme, including legislation on the state asset fund and state trusteeships.

The legislation will come before Parliament some time next month and is intended to give the government more control over future privatisation of state-owned companies, Government Commissioner Janos Martonyi informed a press conference following Thursday's meeting of the Council of Ministers.

The government is worried by a clause in the conversion law that took effect this year and covers also sell-outs of state companies. The clause stipulates that the task of finding buyers is to fall to state-owned companies management boards, leaving central governement without any real control and opening the way to possible malpractices.

The government would therefore like the power to take back under state control companies run previously by their own boards, should the slightest suspicion of fraud emerge.

Mr Martonyi denied any suggestion of re-nationalisation by the back door' through state intervention, insisting that the government only intended to ensure fairness in the privatisation process.

Pozsgay on October Congress, Havel Letter

LD0909192989 Budapest MTI in English 1650 GMT 9 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 9 (MTI)—The intention of purification experienced here is an encouragement for us that we will be able to organize a decisive congress in early October. It would be too bad if the congress were not decisive. In that case, others would decide on us and we really would not stand our ground before the nation, said Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Presidium, at the HSWP conference in Zalaegerszeg.

Mr Pozsgay took a stand for clarifying debates within the HSWP, without such debates, he quoted Engels, the party is nothing else but a sect even if it has one million members.

It may happen that there will be no clarification in the congress. Instead, a broad compromise will be reached, we will remain together...and feel very well among ourselves. But it will easily entail the consequence that a party having 700,000 members is beaten by political organizations with 8-10,000 people in the elections.

In the interval of the conference, the Zala County correspondent of MTI and NEPSZABADSAG asked Mr Pozsgay about his reaction to the open letter Vaclav Havel had addressed to Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and to him. Mr Pozsgay said: 'I was deeply moved by the letter. Its personal tone, the salutation and the parallels aroused my reflexion. I have to sleep over it. Although it was carried among the evening news, I did not know about it because I worked until midnight. I read it in MAGYAR NEMZET in the morning. If people are really arrested in Czechoslovakia for reasons mentioned by Vaclav Havel, it gives cause for alarm and disquiets me. But I am confident that sober mind will be stronger and they will be able to defend their position in spirit of their political freedoms rather than under the prosecutor's supervision.'

How did it affect you that Vaclav Havel wrote the same letter to Mazowiecki and to you?

'It reassured me since it reflected the image of a new unity in Eastern and central europe. Namely, the reform communists, the solidarity, and other dissidents can create a new community in this region, excluding hatred and violence,' Mr Pozsgay said.

Saturday's MAGYAR NEMZET carries the open letter Vaclav Havel addressed to Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Hungarian Minister of State Imre Pozsgay. The Czechoslovak writer asked the two politicians to speak up for Miroslav Kusy and Jan Carnogursky, who are accused of subversion and exposed to criminal proceedings in Czechoslovakia.

Mazowiecki Proposes New Polish Cabinet

LD1209184189 Warsaw PAP in English 1141 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 12—Addressing the Sejm, Premier Mazowiecki proposed the following for ministers:

Leszek Balcerowicz - vice premier, minister of finance (OKP Citizen's Parliamentary Floor Group).

Czeslaw Janicki - vice premier, minister of agriculture (United Peasant Party) [UPP]

Jan Janowski - vice premier, head of the Office of Scientific- Technical Progress and Aplications (Democratic Party) [DP]

Czeslaw Kiszczak - vice premier, minister of internal affairs (PUWP) [Polish United Workers Party]

Jacek Ambroziak - minister, head of the office of the Council of Ministers (OKP)

Aleskander Bentkowski—minister of justice (UPP)

Izabella Cywinska - minister of culture and arts (OKP)

Aleksaner Hall - minister, member of the Council of Ministers responsible for social organizations and political parties (OKP)

Bronislaw Kaminski - minister, natural environment protection (UPP)

Andrzej Kosiniak-Kamysz - minister of health and social welfare (UPP).

Jacek Kuron - minister of labour and social policy (OKP)

Aleksander Mackiewicz - minister of internal market (DP)

Aleksander Paszynski - minisrter of spatial planning and construction (OKP)

Henryk Samsonowicz - minister of national education (OKP)

Florian Siwicki - minister of national defence (PUWP)

Krzysztof Skubiszewski - minister of foreign affairs (OKP)

Tadeusz Syryjczyk - minister of industry (OKP)

Witold Trzeciakowski - minister, member of the Council of Ministers, chairman of the Economic Council (OKP)

Franciszek Adam Weiladek - minister of transportation. (PUWP)

Marcin Swiecicki (PUWP) - minister of foreign economic relations.

Marek Kucharski (DP) - minister without portfolio responsible for setting up a ministry of communications.

Artur Balazs (Solidarnosc of Private Farmers) - minister without portfolio responsibnle for social and civilizational affairs in the countryside.

Jerzy Osiatynski - minister, head of the Central Planning Office (OKP)

New Government Members Receive Nominations

LD1209203589 Warsaw PAP in English 1915 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 12—Members of the new government received their nominations directly after the end of today's Sejm debate. The documents were handed by Sejm speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz in the presence of Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Sejm presidium and leaders of parliamentary floor groups.

Congratulating the members of the new council of ministers, Mikolaj Kozakiewicz assured them that the Sejm—reacting to the intentions contained in the premier's expose—will strive for shaping such parliament-government relations that would allow the executive bodies to work efficiently while respecting the superior role of the houses of parliament.

Mazowiecki thanked the Sejm speaker for his attitude in the difficult moments of forming the government. "All the ministers will do their best to make contacts with the parliament as good and substantial as possible. Now all of us have to get working," the premier said.

Kozakiewicz handed also to the hitherto president of the National Bank of Poland a document recalling him from the post, and to the new president—an appointment to the post.

Jaruzelski Meets Mazowiecki, Cabinet

LD1309122889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] A meeting between President Wojciech Jaruzelski and Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and the members of the government appointed yesterday by the Sejm has taken place at Belweder. Congratulating the members of the cabinet the president said the meeting is taking place at an exceptional, historic moment, when a great national opportunity is opening before us. An answer to the question of what should be done to make use of the opportunity is proved by the premier's expose and by concrete realization of the announcements contained therein. The president also emphasized the significance of all political forces supporting the new government.

PAP Summarizes 12 Sep Sejm Debate

LD1209225589 Warsaw PAP in English 1913 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Warsaw, Sept. 12—The Polish Sejm accepted today the program and the composition of the new cabinet formed by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki

in a democratic way, finding the support of all reformatory forces represented in the parliament.

This government, as it was said in the Sejm today, can be called a real representative of the nation. Poles pinned great hopes on the appointment of this government.

The Sejm debate aroused great interest both in Poland and abroad. Numerous TV and radio stations covered the debate, so did world's biggest news agencies. Representatives of the diplomatic corps were present in the Sejm hall.

The debate was opened by Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz. He greeted President Wojciech Jaruzelski who came to attend the meeting and took a seat in the presidential box. Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki took a seat in the governmental box, alone for the time being, until the new cabinet is appointed.

Sejm Speaker Kozakiewicz told the chamber on a motion sent by the president on appointing a new chairman of the National Bank of Poland NBP. The agenda was expanded with a point on recalling Zdzislaw Pakula from the post of NBP chairman and appointing Wladyslaw Baka to the office.

The floor was taken by Tadeusz Mazowiecki who made a statement on the proposed composition and program of the new government. About 45 minutes into delivering his expose, the prime minister asked the Sejm speaker to make a break. According to a medical communique issued later on, Tadeusz Mazowiecki grew faint for a moment due to overwork. After a nearly 50-minute break the prime minister resumed delivering his expose.

Mazowiecki apologized to the deputies for the break in delivering his expose and said that it was the result of several weeks of intensive work. "I reached the same condition as the Polish economy did," he said, "but I recovered. I do hope the economy will recover, too," said the prime minister to the applause of the chamber.

The expose also won a long applause of deputies. "The contents of this programmatic statement by Tadeusz Mazowiecki," Sejm Speaker Kozakiewicz said, "confirmed social expectations that this Sejm meeting, with electing a new government, will not only turn another page of Poland's history but will also open up its brand new chapter." [passage omitted covered by referent item]

Taking the floor on behalf of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group OKP, Deputy Bronislaw Geremek said that it was the time to think about the future, about what was possible and what opened up new prospects for Poland at the moment of forming a government by Tadeusz Mazowiecki. "The expose by the prime minister contains a rough and true assessment of the present situation of the country and an announcement of a program of reforms," he said.

"The OKP fully supports the basic directions of development contained in the premier's program. We expect the new government to adopt a consistent and bold economic policy and to choose a strategy according to the requirements of the present situation and threats," Geremek stressed. "We expect the new government to function in a new model of a state, a state that is freeing itself of the one-party monopoly and returns to the principle of pluralistic representation that will become the property of the entire nation.

"We expect the area of the state's activity to be reduced in favour of citizens' society. For many years, the program of nation's sovereignty, state's sovereignty, political freedom and national independence seemed to be the destroyer of public order. I think that this has already stopped and that this another Europe is experiencing the wave of freedom and democracy, internal reconstruction and restructuring of relations between states. [sentence as received] What is going on in Poland is, in this context, important for all countries of our geographical zone.

"The OKP, regardless of debates and reservations, resolved to give its unanimous support for the compostition of the government proposed by Prime Minister Mazowiecki," Geremek said.

"The forming of the government lasted long but for the first time we have the government formed in a democratic way," leader of the UPP [United Peasant's Party] Parliamentary Floor Group Aleksander Bentkowski said, "the government which is not imposed on society and which can be called a real representative of the nation.

"For the first time in the history of Poland we are the winners of a bloodless uprising. We are creating a new social order, without bloodshed and suffering. Let us not waste this for this is just the beginning.

"Poland is looking at this new government with hope of success, with hope that Poland will become a normal country deserving its due place on the map of the world. Everyone has the right to expect the improvement of his situation. Farmers do not expect priorities or a green light, they expect normal conditions which will help produce more food.

"We know that only a radical reform can save the country, but this requires further sacrifices," he said and stressed that the UPP would vote for Mazowiecki's government. He asked farmers to give their support for the government's initiatives and appealed to all Poles for patience—difficult but necessary. "Give the prime minister and the government a chance. Believe once more and we, here, will do our best to make the living better in our homeland," he said.

Head of the DP [Democratic Party] Caucus Deputy Jan Janowski said that the Democrats accepted the goals and tasks contained in the prime minister's expose. "Our party will support the government's activities in all organizational structures expecting, in the name of the

supreme good of saving the state, nation and society, that such support will be given by all patriotic socio-political forces.

"With the stress put today on transformations in the national economy, we continue to fear for the fate of Polish intelligentsia," Janowski said. "To guarantee its due material status may turn out to be—after the times of degradation—the main premise for economic reforms to succeed."

Speaking on behalf of the Pax Catholic caucus, Deputy Jacek Krzekotowski said that the new government was formed according to new political rules and criteria. "Prime minister's expose is meeting half-way two basic social needs: the need for radical economic reforms and the need to halt the practical degradation of society in the face of complete political, economic and moral chaos.

"The task for the government, and for the parliament, is to find a point which cannot be overstepped. Particularly close to us is the philosophy of a state based on the principle of common good, expressed so clearly in the prime minister's expose," he said.

Representative of the Christian and Social Union UCHS Parliamentary Floor Group, Deputy Ryszard Zielinski said that their support for Premier Mazowiecki did not stem from the fact that he is a Catholic activist but from the approval of his program. "The Union will support the government's social policy that envisages protection for the weakest social groups," he said.

Zielinski also referred to the Oswiecim question and voiced the opinion that further polemics would not add to the values represented by each side in this painful dispute. He also stated that UCHS deputies would give their unanimous support to Premier Mazowiecki and would vote for the composition of the cabinet he proposed.

Speaking on behalf of the Polish Union of Lay Catholics PZKS caucus, Deputy Ryszard Gajewski voiced support for the composition of the new government. "Expectations of circles represented by the PZKS are convergent with priorities of the prime minister. Our postulates pertain not only to the material sphere but also to the spiritual one. We want progress that would serve mankind through linking material achievements with spiritual development," he said.

After the end of the debate, the Sejm voted the composition of the government. The Sejm adopted the proposed cabinet with 402 votes for and 13 abstentions. The results of the voting were given a standing ovation. Prime Minister Mazowiecki also rose to his feet.

Having read the Sejm resolution on appointing members of the Council of Ministers, the Sejm speaker said: "This was an official formula of appointing a new government. Let me express hope that Mr Prime Minister will succeed in implementing the great program of restructuring Poland without harm to his health." The Sejm speaker also declared Sejm's assistance for the new cabinet's activity and cordially congratulated the premier and wished him success in the historic mission he undertook. Kozakiewicz's words won an applause of the deputies.

Then the Sejm recalled Zdzislaw Pakula from the post of chairman of the National Bank of Poland NBP (with 10 votes against and 32 abstentions) and appointed Wladyslaw Baka to this office (with 44 votes against and 83 abstentions). The Sejm closed its session shortly before 15:00 hrs.

Journalists Protest Exclusion From Sejm Lobbies

LD1209201989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Polish and foreign journalists, the press, radio, and television have not been allowed into the Sejm lobbies for the second time. In other words, they were not granted the opportunity to contact deputies and members of the new cabinet. The journalists handed a protest to the Sejm speaker which, as Dobrochna Kedzierska, the PZPR parliamentary floor group spokeswoman, stated, was fully supported by the deputies of that group. Likewise the Sejm Culture and Mass Media Commission called on the speaker to explain this matter. The Presidium of the Association of Journalists of the Polish People's Republic also submitted a protest on this matter.

Thus it was only in front of the Sejm building that journalists were able to ask Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki if he is going to be able to carry out all the reforms announced. That is what has to happen, he replied, although it will not be easy. Asked about how he was feeling, he replied that he ought to have a little rest and that his dream is to go to the forest. When I've walked around the forest for half a day, he added, then I'll be better. When the press took leave of him in front of the parliament building, he said: You won't always applaud; remember the premier and the government in the difficult times.

ZSL Floor Group Holds Session 11 September

LD1209215189 Warsaw PAP in English 0033 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 11—During the hearing in the United Peasant Party [UPP] Parliamentary Floor Group here today, president's candidate for chairman of the National Bank of Poland (NBP) Wladyslaw Baka stated that the operation of marketization of food economy should be carried out in tune with the round table settlements as promptly as possible and as safely as necessary.

The conditions concerning improvement of supplies to the country market and demonopolization of procurement and processing have not been met, Baka stated adding that the results of that are visible on the market.

As monopolies continue to exist retail prices grow at a rapid pace because of excessive margins of profit and brokerage while procurement prices are increased slowly.

In Baka's opinion implementation of a radical anti-inflation policy should bring positive results within three months.

Convertibility of the zloty depends on that how fast we are able to cure the economy, he said. The candidate for the NBP chairman does not expect change of money in the foreseeable future as the issue consists in creating conditions for existence of sound money. Baka also sees the need to make interest rates on savings and credits real.

Wladyslaw Baka listed regulation of currency and tax policies among urgent tasks.

The UPP caucus resolved to support Baka's candidature.

The issues connected with voting for Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government were discussed behind the closed doors. Following the debate UPP caucus chairman Aleksander Bentkowski told PAP:

"We will vote for the whole list of candidates for government members. We come out in favour of voting en bloc for all candidates proposed by Premier Mazowiecki."

ZSL's Ludwiczak Sees United Peasant Movement

LD1309073989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 2045 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] [Announcer] A conference with the newly elected president of the ZSL [United Peasant Party] Supreme Committee Dominik Ludwiczak was held this evening.

[Begin recording] [Ludwiczak] A solid democratic congress, which will determine total changes in the style of work and the shape of our future party will have to be prepared, because we want to become a party of the whole nation. We have created the so-called green round table. Three meetings of all movements and factions of the peasant movement and all political forces have already been held. We really want to come to an agreement. So far the opposition was: Not with these people, not with this leadership and not with this policy! We shall change the people, we shall change the policy and I think that we shall come to an agreement at the round table. Then, after the ZSL congress, we want to create a congress of the peasant movement, a united one, in order to create in Poland a strong party based on the peasant movement. I think that there is an enormous chance to do this.

[Reporter Renata Leska] Does this mean that during a congress of the peasant movement you would support the idea to create one great peasant party based on the Solidaritiy of Individual Farmers, the ZMW [Rural Youth Union], the National Social Committee for the Rebirth of the Peasant Movement of the ZSL?

[Ludwiczak] Yes, according to honest partnership principles, after having come to an agreement.

[Aleksander Luczak, ZSL Supreme Committee secretary] Coming to an agreement, however, cannot be achieved at the expense of the ZSL, and solely at the expense of the ZSL. [end recording]

Warsaw TV Broadcasts Walesa Statement

LD1209202989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Statement by Solidarity leader Lech Walesa read by Walesa's spokesman Nowina-Konopka—no video available]

[Text] For the first time in half a century Poland has a government that millions can call their own. At its head stands a man from Solidarity, a man who is one of us. With the appointment of Tadeusz Mazowiechki's cabinet another Poland gets a chance to have its say; a Poland that has so far been excluded from any participation in the government of the country and deprived of influence over the course of events in our homeland. It is a Poland of people who wish to live in an independent, democratic, and prosperous state.

We are entering a new phase burdened with wrongs [bagaz krzywd] and issues that must be dealt with. However, the dramatic crisis in the country is particularly visible on the economic plane. We are aware of the chance that Poland has today, but we are also aware of the many dangers and worries that are the lot of the working world. Together we must overcome these threats; we must give people hope that the crisis will not last forever, that within this generation Poles will be able to live in dignity.

As chairman of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity I declare that I will do everything possible to facilitate the government's difficult task. I know that the trade union that I lead approaches this matter responsibly, thinking of the future, but also with concern for the living conditions of today and tomorrow.

I hope that the new government will successfully transform our country, that it will gain the necessary public support for its activities, and that it will be a government worthy of our joint aspirations, worthy of the change facing Poland.

PZPR's Sobotka Interviewed on Party Change

AU1209164689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Sep pp 1,3

[Interview with Sejm deputy Zbigniew Sobotka, Polish United Workers Party Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party factory committee at the "Warsaw" Steelworks, by Ewa Rosolak and Waldemar Mickiewicz: "The Party Must Get to Grips With Itself and With All of Polish Reality"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Rosolak, Mickiewicz] Until now we have been a party that has enjoyed a monopoly on power and on the

truth. We spoke, and we were listened to....

[Sobotka] The election results fundamentally altered the position of the party. The policy that the party is now pursuing is dictated by force of circumstance. It will apply for a short period of time at most. Today the party cannot "decree" the direction in which the situation should evolve, because the party alone no longer determines everything. The impression that many people get is that under these new circumstances neither the party leadership nor the party rank and file can act effectively.

[Rosolak, Mickiewicz] After the "roundtable" it was clear that Poland would never be the same again. The party should have sensed this straightaway and made preparations for changing its ways of operating....

[Sobotka] Some changes are obvious and will occur of their own accord. For example, the party ran the economy. This meant that it was all the more difficult to criticize government actions, because any criticism would be perceived as an attack on the party. The time has now come for the party to cease to deal with everything and, what follows on from this, to be responsible for everything. It can be a truly militant force that takes a keener view of a whole range of issues.

I am thinking about whether and to what extent traditional forms of party activity, such as meetings and conferences, can be replaced by other forms such as rallies and debates that are aimed at solving a specific problem, or adopting a position in response to a specific situation. I think that many new forms of activity may prove to be good.

The structure of the party, from the primary party organization to the Central Committee, represents another important issue. I am in favor of the party being active in the workplace, because I think that there is a lot of scope for satisfying the work forces' aspirations in every workplace. At the same time, I think that the party leadership must be prepared and have a concept for other forms of party activity. In the future, we cannot allow certain developments to take us by surprise, because we had not prepared an alternative concept. So, there was no choice.

[Rosolak, Mickiewicz] Who will be able to see this task through? The core of the party is made up of 50- and 60-year-olds, who prefer a clear-cut code of discipline and a clear-cut scale of values....

[Sobotka] Let us begin by saying that it is misleading to label people as "reformers" or conservatives on the basis of their age. For example, among the people that I know—and this also applies to my parent party organization—there are people in their sixties who think in a modern way and are receptive to change, but there are also some in their twenties who do not see the need for any changes. So I cannot accept the argument that the party leadership is reformist, whereas the rank-and-file, the membership of primary organizations, is conservative. You certainly should not make generalizations!

We have to work with the people that we have, and make them accept new ideas. We can win many of them over.

It is not easy to conduct political work nowadays. The role of the secretary is also changing, especially in workplace organizations. He has to operate in a completely different way. I do not think that this means that the importance of his role has diminished, but that he has to work in a radically different way. Extensive consultations must be held on party decisions. This is because we want to make party life democratic and win universal acceptance while operating in an open manner.

With the 10th plenum the party definitely launched into an entirely new stage and initiated an exceptionally interesting process. However, the party started out on this with such vigor that the processes really could have been beyond the grasp of many party members. This was followed by the elections and a further change in the situation. There were many things that slipped out from under the party's control.

However, these complicated circumstances did not set the instinct for self-preservation in motion. What happened was that part of the rank-and-file ceased to identify itself with the party leadership, and that is dangerous. We began to run down our leaders. We will never achieve greatness this way.

[Rosolak, Mickiewicz] Will the upcoming congress not pose a danger in light of this situation?

[Sobotka] I think that it is essential to hold a congress quickly. To whom should the congress pose a danger? To the party leadership? Perhaps delaying the congress would be dangerous for the entire party?

I think that at the present time it is not possible to come up with entirely new leaders for the party. Although I am an advocate of rapid progress, I think that one has to proceed in stages. A certain amount of experience is essential. The present-day state of the party indicates that geniuses will not be found overnight. Even if that were possible, how can we be sure that the party rank and file would identify with them?

[Rosolak, Mickiewicz] You are a Politburo candidate member and a worker. What does Zbigniew Sobotka, worker, mean?

[Sobotka] I have mostly worked in blue-collar jobs. I was a rollerman at the "Baildon" Steelworks, and head rollerman at the "Warsaw" Steelworks. I think that I can say that I have experience of hard work. As I worked, I also studied for higher qualifications, and I completed a technical school education.

[Rosolak, Mickiewicz] You are 37 years old today. How long have you been a professional politician?

[Sobotka] Five years.

[Rosolak, Mickiewicz] Is a worker not included in the Politburo solely for the sake of appearances?

[Sobotka] The Politburo is a political institution. It should, above all, include people who can grasp everything that is going on around us. That is the main thing. Whether such people are workers or professors is of secondary importance. As someone who is a representative of the workers in the Politburo, I do not think that I am in any way inferior. I do not have any complexes.

[Rosolak, Mickiewicz] The 14th Central Committee plenum position on the coalition has prompted a variety of comments, but rarely any that express praise. What made you adopt that particular position?

[Sobotka] The Central Committee could not have adopted a different one. The Central Committee faithfully articulated what was being called for by the party rank and file. Why should we think that the Central Committee is in any way wiser than the party rank and file?

[Rosolak, Mickiewicz] Let us consider some relationships for a moment: the Central Committee, the deputies' club, and the selection of delegates for the congress. In the opinion of some party organizations, even a factory committee first secretary should not be made a delegate. On the other hand, the deputies say: We have proved that we are credible, although we have operated outside party structures, so now....

[Sobotka] We are entering a period of turmoil. Those who hold posts at the primary organization level run the least risk of being "weeded out," whereas those at higher levels are in for a very rough ride.

Concerning the relationship between the Central Committee and the club, I would say that the two must merge. The party's main task is to have an impact on government. If this is to be done seriously, the club must become an integral part of the entire party's decision-making center. However, as a deputy, I know that every one of us went into the elections on the party ticket, and we owe the party something.

[Rosolak, Mickiewicz] This leads us to an issue of exceptional importance for the party, that is, party unity. Calling for unity seemed to be perfectly understandable in view of the grave situation in which the party found itself. However, it is now being said by some that the calls for unity are a call for support for the positions that some hold within the party, an expression of the desire to keep a post at all costs....

[Sobotka] Today's circumstances dictate that party unity should be maintained. Only a strong party can impact on the course of events. A wise party starts addressing internal matters once certain fundamental issues have been settled. We seem to be doing the reverse. We forget that the first thing that we should do is to "go forward" together, and then we should settle other matters.

However, I do not get the impression that people are fighting to keep their posts. It is not true. Comrades leave, and the leadership changes. Beside, the posts are completely different now.

[Rosolak, Mickiewicz] Politics is the ability to foresee the course of events. However, our politicians tend to pack people into frivolous events, to bamboozle them, and they are not made to bear any responsibility for doing so.

[Sobotka] One should be made to pay for policies just as for everything else. A politician should have to pay for wrong decisions as well as for wrong predictions. This kind of thinking began to manifest itself at the 13th plenum, but there is still too much anonymity within the party.

[Rosolak, Mickiewicz] Why?

[Sobotka] Although everything is changing around us, the old principles are still in force.

Miodowicz on Relations With Opposition

AU1209154489 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 8-10 Sep 89 p 3

[Interview with OPZZ chairman Alfred Miodowicz by Dariusz Szymczycha: "I Have Free Tuesdays and Free Hands" —date and place not given]

[Text] [Szymczycha] You have resigned from the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Politburo. Have you deserted a "sinking ship"?

[Miodowicz] Of course not, although this ship, the party, is not in the best shape. My resignation was the implementation of earlier announcements. Remember that as far back as the 10th Central Committee Plenum I asked to be discharged from my responsibilities. I said that, if the power elite makes political decisions, including on the subject of trade union pluralism, without consulting the party rank and file and trade unionists first, then my presence in the Politburo is nothing but a smokescreen or alibi.

[Szymczycha] Was your resignation a vote of no confidence for trade union pluralism and "Solidarity"?

[Miodowicz] No. It was a signal to the party and our trade unionists. It was a protest against the way in which affairs are settled. In any case, trade unionists had expressed doubts earlier about whether my membership of the Politburo served any purpose. More and more people were demanding that I choose either the National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ] or the Politburo. During the June meeting with trade unionists from the 210 largest enterprises, I promised I would consider. I also said I would remain in the Politburo as long as General Jaruzelski is first secretary. Therefore, at the 13th Plenum I had to keep my word.

[Szymczycha] What happens now? You said at the 13th Plenum that the OPZZ would provide a new member for the Politburo.

[Miodowicz] Yes, I did say that. But I added the word "eventually." At the next OPZZ Council session at the beginning of October, I will present all the pros and cons of the presence of an OPZZ man in the Politburo. It is not Miodowicz who will decide, but a vote.

[Szymczycha] Are there more pros than cons, or more cons than pros?

[Miodowicz] Right now, more cons. These are pragmatic reasons. The more the trade unions interfere in politics, the closer they are to being a party or half-party, and the more meaningless our trade union work becomes. Breaking personal contacts with party cells by not sending them any trade union representatives makes work easier and frees one from a mild but nevertheless real corset of restrictions. The hands of Miodowicz, who is no longer in the Politburo, are untied, and he is experiencing no internal conflict.

[Szymczycha] So there are divorce proceedings between the OPZZ and PZPR?

[Miodowicz] Well, I would not quite put it that way. It is essential that our trade unions abandon politics, that is all.

[Szymczycha] You have blackmailed the party authorities and governments many times, saying that 80 percent of all PZPR members belong to the OPZZ. How have these people reacted to your altered tactics?

[Miodowicz] I think they have taken it well. I think they will feel fine as trade unionists in our ranks.

[Szymczycha] What do workers say to the fact that Alfred Miodowicz is not going to form an alternative workers party after all?

[Miodowicz] In the reality in Poland it is difficult to reject something and say "never." Various things can happen in politics. However, we are already considering how the trade unions belonging to the OPZZ will solve the problem of participation in future parliamentary elections, and whether it will be necessary to establish a political base for the trade unions after all. It will be necessary if the PZPR is unwilling to lose future elections.

[Szymczycha] So you are not forming a "workers alternative party"?

[Miodowicz] We have no such plan, but we might be faced with the need to do so.

[Szymczycha] The OPZZ, which lost the last election with the PZPR, is becoming an opposition force against a government formed through the inspiration of Lech Walesa and "Solidarity."

[Miodowicz] We have always been in opposition to governments to some extent, even governments formed by the PZPR. We said that to Premier Mazowiecki during our meeting with him. We told him that right now we see no reason not to be in opposition to his government as well. However, I must say that the premier made a good impression on me as a calm and intelligent man who is interested in working people's affairs.

It is difficult to tell what relations between the OPZZ and government will be like. One reason is that there is still no government program. However, on the basis of what T. Mazowiecki said in the Sejm immediately after his election, I can say that we support some of his statements. We were very interested in what he had to say about social justice. We support his intention to take pluralism seriously all the time, and not just whenever it is convenient to do so. The premier also said that television would be pluralistic. Therefore, we think that under this government the OPZZ may find more room on the small screen than it did before.

However, we are disturbed by certain comments in "Solidarity" publications whereby unemployment will be the first result of economic reform. For God's sake, are there no other troubles in life? What about inflation? Therefore I wonder how "Solidarity:" will swallow the "pill" of unemployment. What will it do if its own government causes unemployment, which the trade unions always consider a call to arms?

[Szymczycha] Will you give the new government time to put its affairs in order, or will you launch demands straightaway?

[Miodowicz] If we were to receive clear evidence that a cease-fire between the OPZZ and the new government would contribute to social calm, then we would give the government time. However, because the material situation of families has deteriorated so much, social moods are now so volatile that it would be senseless to allow the new government a honeymoon. As long as there is turmoil in Poland, authorities cease to be authorities, and therefore we can expect the worst.

[Szymczycha] Like what?

[Miodowicz] I consider discord between urban and rural areas to be one of the worst things possible. I fear it would be impossible to contain such a conflict, because there is a lack of hope. Unfortunately, people do not consider boasting about democratization to be a sign of hope. It is extremely difficult to emerge from our terrible situation by means of democratic procedures.

[Szymczycha] You have been accused of delayed radicalism. People say that you have been very servile toward the authorities so far, and only now have you decided to undertake militant action.

[Miodowicz] People who say that must have had their eyes shut when we rejected many economic concepts and decisions in our stances, assessments, and alternative programs.

Our unions have always thought about their future, and have been able to foresee it quite accurately. We knew, unfortunately, that in a crisis or difficult situation the party would sacrifice its partners. Therefore, we worked out defense tactics consisting of two very spectacular moves against the party leadership. The first move was pressure on the Messner Government to make it resign, and the other was the Walesa-Miodowicz TV talk. There is a reluctance to talk about that today. These moves protected us against the very keen effects of the changes that are now spreading like wildfire through Poland. As one can see, accusations about delayed OPZZ reactions are tendentious.

[Szymczycha] Was your TV talk with Lech Walesa the last time you have spoken to him?

[Miodowicz] It was my last businesslike discussion with him. Today Mr Walesa is a statesman, and as a trade unionist I find it difficult to find a common subject with him.

[Szymczycha] Are the differences between you and him the result of different personalities, or different philosophies of action?

[Miodowicz] I am sure we have not altered our views since our meeting, but we have certainly altered our attitudes and methods of action.

[Szymczycha] The absence of an accord at the highest levels rules out cooperation between OPZZ and "Solidarity" trade unionists.

[Miodowicz] Wherever the trade unions really perform the work of trade unions, these contacts are lively and creative, though not devoid of tension caused by rivalry. Only in a few workplaces do we observe sharp conflicts.

However, there is no sign of an accord at the top levels of the trade union movement. The OPZZ and "Solidarity" are acting parallel to one another, and sometimes we witness surprising activity by "Solidarity."

For example, the "Solidarity" National Executive Commission is calling for the appointment of a second "pluralistic" set of labor inspectors, even though the work forces have already appointed a first set of inspectors in a democratic manner.

[Szymczycha] One of the arguments against trade union pluralism was the likelihood of disputes over OPZZ assets.

[Miodowicz] We are returning to "Solidarity" everything that belongs to it. We have carefully preserved over 150 "Solidarity" banners in our Trade Union History Institute, and we will now give them back to their rightful owners. We never received any "Solidarity" vehicles, so we have nothing to give back in this sphere. "Solidarity" printing equipment was scattered around various institutions, and all we received was fragments. However, the funds that were frozen in "Solidarity" accounts are not worth a lot today. We have spent a lot of these funds on the needs of working people, most of whom belonged to "Solidarity" before December 1981.

[Szymczycha] The severance of personal contacts with the PZPR, an absence of such contacts with "Solidarity," opposition to governments—that is a brief political summary of the OPZZ which you have presented in this interview. You wish to act independently and on your own account. If so, where do you place the OPZZ on the political map of Poland?

[Miodowicz] I place it where the left wing is, because the left wing is closest to the working people.

[Szymczycha] And what have you gained by leaving the Politburo?

[Miodowicz] I can now devote Tuesdays to trade union matters [the Politburo meets on Tuesdays].

Wiatr on Party Reform Group, Congress

AU1309100989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Sep 89 p 2

[PAP report: "A Party Referendum Should Determine the Date of the Congress"]

[Text] Speaking on the main Polish television news on 10 September about the meeting of the "8 July Movement" [a group of party reformers who want to create their own leftwing party] which took place at Warsaw University a few days ago, Slawomir Wiatr, Central Committee secretary in the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] said: "Not only may I identify myself with the '8 July Movement,' but I wish to do so as well. However, because of my position, I see the party's internal situation and its external conditions from a different angle. After all, not only do I represent this movement, as was the case several months ago; I am also a Central Committee secretary. Therefore I am supposed to represent various party streams as fully as possible, and the "8 July" stream is one of them.

"Every party member is asking about the date of the congress. There is no clear reply. At the 15th Central Committee Plenum, we intend to propose a general vote, a sort of referendum. First it is necessary to obtain answers to several key questions, and only then will it be possible to establish a date for the congress. One such question is whether the congress should be preceded by an accountability-election campaign for all party bodies, from primary party organizations right up to the Central Committee—which of course will delay the congress—or whether we should hold the congress without further ado and the accountability-election campaign afterwards. Another question is whether certain basic programmatic

and ideological matters ought to be discussed beforehand, during regional conventions, or whether the entire debate should take place during the congress.

"We think it would be good to permit all party members a real and satisfactory chance to take part in regional debates; but if we adopt this alternative, there is little likelihood of holding the congress within, say, 6 weeks. In such a situation, we think that it is not the leadership that should decide, but the party; in other words, a general vote."

Party Reformers Demand New Leftwing Party

AU1309100589 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 11 Sep 89 p 2

[Report signed '(jost)': "PZPR Congress—Even Against the Wishes of the Apparatus"]

[Text] Members of a movement of Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] reformers known as the "8 July Movement" met at Warsaw University on 8 September. The meeting was attended by Central Committee secretary Slawomir Wiatr and Sejm Vice Marshal Tadeusz Fiszbach. Leszek Jaskiewicz, first secretary of the Warsaw University PZPR Committee, said: "We are not concerned so much with reforming or restructuring the party as with quite simply creating a new leftwing party." However, Andrzej Kobielski [not further identified] said that the main task right now is to prepare for the party congress by means of social forces, with or without the approval of the party apparatus.

Green Party Supports Mazowiecki Government

LD1309100389 Warsaw PAP in English 0926 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] Krakow, Sept. 13—The Polish Green Party received with "great hope and satisfaction" the Sejm's approval of the composition of the Council of Ministers proposed by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, said the National Board of the Greens in its statement Tuesday.

"This put an end to the government crisis which was difficult not only for the state but also for the people. We hope that in tune with the announcement, the Mazowiecki government will cooperate with all social forces and that the economic problems of the country will not be solved at the expense of natural environment," the Greens said.

Jaruzelski Receives Journalists' Delegation

LD1309053389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] President Wojciech Jaruzelski has received a delegation of the Journalists' Association of the Polish People's Republic [SDPRL], led by their chairman, Artur Howzan.

The president was given information regarding the association's activities, and about the preparations for the conference of journalists from CSCE countries. Concern was expressed that the other journalists' organizations being created alongside the SDPRL should not be allowed to antagonize the milieu of men of letters, who have common interests.

The president stated that Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government had the sole chance to fully implement the social and economic reforms. Journalists ought to take up the fight against everything that might weaken that chance.

Janiszewski Names Presidential Chancellery Head

LD1309052389 Warsaw PAP in English 1826 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 12—Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski appointed today Michal Janiszewski head of the President's Chancellery.

Lithuanian Poles Call For Autonomous Regions

AU1209132289 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 8-10 Sep p 7

[Anna Kowalewska article: "Clouds Over the River Wilia"]

[Excerpts] Perestroyka is not keeping pace with the reality of everyday life, say the inhabitants of Vilnius, Riga, and Tallinn. The ideas of restucturing, of a change in relationships, of restraining bureaucracy and limiting incompetence, are not reaching down to those areas where they are most sorely needed. Where many ethnic groups begin to fight for their interests, destroying the existing order and in the process challenging the accepted authority, this often leads to dramatic situations.

The ethnic minorities problem in the Soviet Union has become the leading question of the day. After the Karabakh region, Armenia, and Azerbaydzhan, it is now the turn of the Baltic Republics. [passage omitted]

The Association of Poles in Lithuania [ZPL] was founded in April this year. There are about 300,000 people of Polish origin living in the Lithuanian Republic. These are the people who survived Hitler's exterminations and Stalin's deportations. They did not leave Lithuania because all that they had was here. Taking their opportunity from Gorbachev's ideas of perestroyka and the unfettered development of ethnic nationalities, the ZPL proposed the idea of creating autonomous Polish national councils—three town councils (Eiszyszki, Solecznik, and Niemenczyn) and 27 rural councils. In Vilnius, where the Poles make up 18 percent of the inhabitants, the Polish minority would receive other forms of suitable representation. [passage omitted]

The Polish minority is simply discriminated against when one considers, among other things, the distribution

of material goods, availability of means for cultural and educational development, and the provision of health services. Working to satisfy the needs of the whole community and not just its own, this minority receives much less in return than it actually provides. This holds true in the regions where the Poles have an overwhelming majority (Vilnius region—70 percent; Solecznikі region—82 percent, and similarly for the Troki and Swiecianski regions), as well as in the regions where the Lithuanians or Russians are in the majority. In nearly every category, the Polish regions come at the bottom of the table, for example, in schools, cultural centers, trade, services, housing, telephones, gas, and so on. The Vilnius region, the largest region in the republic, to this day does not have its own hospital. Given such conditions, can one really be surprised by the very high figure—a figure much higher than elsewhere—for illnesses and mortality of the local Polish population? [passage omitted]

Polish-Lithuanian antagonisms have been well known for several decades now. Mutual historical development has been particularly unfavorable for the two nations. It will take many years for the Lithuanians to forget General Zeligowski, and for the Poles to forget the Lithuanian pro-Hitler organizations. [passage ommitted]

In an open letter to the deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, the ZPL leadership wrote: "The Polish population of Lithuania is concerned by the unfavorable treatment of its vital needs, the interminable delays, and the constant indifference encountered from party, Soviet, and social organizations. Such an attitude does nothing to foster mutual understanding, does not do any good for Lithuania, and only gives rise to unnecessary social tensions."

The ZPL and the thousands of people who support its activity, are not thinking in terms of self-governing national enclaves, governing themselves by their own rules—rules created for the benefit of 300,000 or so people who would be removed from the umbrella of the prevailing regulations. Lithuania wants to rule itself. This is the hope that Lithuania draws from the statute guaranteeing its economic independence and which is scheduled to come into force on 1 January 1990. It wants to live from what it earns without being subject to detailed instructions from Moscow. The Poles want exactly the same thing. To live by their own efforts and to have equal opportunities of development guaranteed in all spheres of life, similar to those the Lithuanians and Russians have. Most of all, the Poles want to be able to use their own language. Many Poles have not learned Lithuanian or Russian. The law on the primacy of the Lithuanian language without the corresponding freedom to use the Polish language during, for example, meetings, in official places, and in official documents, is seen by the Poles, as discriminatory. Living in Lithuania one cannot deny the necessity of raising the Lithuanian language to the level of state language. Everyday life, however, demands that the Polish language is raised to the same rank in those regions which are overwhelmingly inhabited by Poles.

The ZPL stresses that it is not aiming for political autonomy. It understands the necessity of a Lithuanian rebirth, but it has its own needs too. [passage ommitted]

The reluctance of the deputies to the Supreme Council of Lithuania to consider the problem of Polish autonomous regions is all the more inexplicable, because these very same deputies voted unanimously in Moscow for the giving of autonomy to the Crimean Tartars, the Moldavians, and the Germans living in the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

The last move by Sajudis [Lithuanian movement for restructuring], a resolution adopted on 23 August, indicates that the movement is striving for "an independent and democratic Lithuania—a Lithuania that would not be dependent on the Soviet Union."

What place in the new sovereign Lithuania will be accorded to the Poles, the Russians, the Belorussians, Ukrainians, and Jews nobody knows. From the last declaration of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, it appears that Moscow is deeply concerned by the situation in the Baltic Republics. There is open talk of nationalist, anti-Soviet forces. It will not be sufficient to chase out all the "immigrants" and then live better in the Lithuanian Republic—a republic which would be detached from the Soviet Union.

For the time being, one thing is perfectly clear, namely, that the Lithuanians fighting against the remaining vestiges of Stalinism, are using the well known methods from more shameful times, against the Poles who are living in their country.

Statement on GDR Citizens' 'Illegal' Passage

AU1209194489 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] We now present the statement of the Romanian Press Agency AGERPRES in connection with the illegal passage of some GDR citizens to the FRG through the Hungarian People's Republic:

With legitimate concern, public opinion in our country took note of the illegal FRG action of luring and bringing a large number of GDR citizens to the FRG through Hungary. This action, which is in flagrant contradiction with international agreements and conventions and with the regulations governing relations among independent and sovereign states, amounts to open interference in the GDR's domestic affairs, represents a grave violation of human rights and of the national laws and legislation of other states, and is part and parcel of the campaign organized by revanchist, revisionist, and chauvinist circles against socialist countries and socialism in general.

One cannot understand the attitude of authorities from the Hungarian People's Republic, who—ignoring bilateral agreements with the GDR—permit and even facilitate the illegal passage of GDR citizens through Hungary into the FRG.

The FRG should put an end to these actions against the GDR, actions that run counter to the stipulations of the Helsinki Final Act and affect the overall European climate and the cause of strengthening trust, cooperation, and peace in Europe and the world.

Ceausescu Sends Message to Belgrade Summit

AU1209194189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 10 Sep 89 p 6

[Dumitru Tinu article: "In Accordance with the Interests of Free and Independent Development for All Nations"]

[Text] The agenda of this week's international political life included an event of the greatest possible significance: the ninth summit conference of the non-aligned countries. The meeting of representatives from 102 non-aligned countries—to a large extent heads of state and government—and of representatives from certain invited countries, the United Nations, and other international organizations has naturally focused the attention and interest of the world public opinion. This interest was due, on the one hand, to the impressive number of participants in the Belgrade meeting—practically the great majority of the world's states—and, on the other hand, to the great topics of worldwide interests discussed by the meeting, such as peace, disarmament, the resolution of conflicts, ways and means to eliminate underdevelopment and solve the serious problems facing the developing countries, and the creation of a new economic order designed to establish relations of equality and equity among states and facilitate the progress of all nations.

Having the status of a permanent guest country in the activities of the non-aligned movement—a status granted to our country more than 10 years ago—Romania participated in and attached great importance to the conference proceedings as well as to the documents adopted and the consensus reached on the great problems on the agenda. As is well known, our country has consistently supported the developing and non-aligned countries and has developed relations of close cooperation with these states, considering that the non-aligned movement is one of the most important forces of the contemporary world. In this spirit, the message addressed by President Nicolae Ceausescu to the Belgrade conference reiterates the principled positions of our party and state concerning the strategic goals of the non-aligned movement and points out that, as it has done to date, "Romania will always side with the developing and non-aligned countries and will actively cooperate with these states in order to attain the targets of eliminating underdevelopment, promoting the socioeconomic progress of each nation, and strongly asserting a policy of understanding, cooperation, and peace in the world."

Thanks to its profoundly humanistic content and its ideas and exhortations to solve the great problems of today's world in the interest of all nations, the message was warmly received and highly praised by the participants.

The Belgrade conference took place at a time of important changes in the international life: The balance of forces is moving toward a certain equilibrium that is facilitating the adoption of important steps toward disarmament and the resolution of highly topical problems. These circumstances required the non-aligned movement to adapt itself to the new developments and redefine its priorities. Of course, there are different interpretations of these developments, which reflect the positions of various states or groups of states toward the new circumstances. On the eve of the conference as well as during the proceedings themselves, one could notice a certain trend toward an euphoric assessment of some events, and consequently toward a diminution of the role of the non-aligned movement and a "blurring" of its struggle targets. A realistic and lucid assessment of recent developments—as it also became apparent during the conference discussions—shows exactly the opposite, namely, that in spite of all changes, the world situation continues to be very complicated, contradictory, and grave. How else can one explain the consequences of the actions of imperialist and neocolonialist circles which, ignoring realities, are increasingly promoting a policy of interference in the domestic affairs of other states and of destabilization of the situation in certain countries, while also intensifying their actions against the independence and free development of nations!? How can the developing non-aligned countries, which represent two-thirds of mankind, overlook the worsening of the economic crisis, which is affecting them most directly and brutally!? And, generally speaking, how can one ignore

the persistence of the arms race and the fact that, in spite of the measures to liquidate some types of nuclear weapons, other steps are taken to modernize existing arms, thus failing to reduce at all the danger of destruction hanging over mankind!?

In the light of these realities, Romania—through President Nicolae Ceausescu's message—strongly points out that, particularly now, in the given circumstances, it is necessary to strengthen the action unity of the nonaligned countries. As the message emphasizes: "Today, more than ever before, the capacity of the non-aligned movement and its ability to exert a positive influence on the international plane depends on strengthening the unity and solidarity of the nonaligned countries. The current international circumstances require the nonaligned movement to further strengthen its anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist character and should take more energetic and consistent steps to promote its basic goals and targets, for independence, social progress, and peace in the world."

It is a fact that the non-aligned movement groups together most diverse countries from the point of view of size, development stage, and political-social option. Beyond this diversity, which inevitably generates diverse positions on a given problem, the common interests of the participating states prevailed at the Belgrade conference, as shown by the concerted positions included in the Final Declaration and in other documents adopted.

The conference clearly emphasized the need for all countries to observe the principle of peaceful coexistence among states with different social and political systems, as a key prerequisite for progress and peace in the world. As emphasized in President Nicolae Ceausescu's message, Romania resolutely speaks out for categorically rejecting all forms of intervention aimed at changing the social and political system in a given country, all measures of economic constraint in relations among states, and all kinds of conditional stipulations and pressure. Particular importance comes from the fact that the conference documents reiterate the imperative requirement for firm observance in interstate relations of the principles of equality of rights, national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries, and complete renunciation of the policy of force and dictate—principles that were actually laid at the foundation of the non-aligned movement, almost 30 years ago, under the name of Panch Sila.

The conference attached particular importance to one of the most urgent problems, namely the "dramatic deterioration"—according to the expression used in the documents adopted—of the economic situation of the developing countries, particularly as a result of the heavy burden of their foreign debts. All this highlights the topicality of Romania's proposal—a proposal which, as it became apparent, enjoyed the consensus of the non-aligned countries—to resume the North-South economic dialogue and to convene, to this end, a UN-sponsored conference with the equal participation of both the developing and developed countries, which should discuss all problems concerning the elimination of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new international economic order.

The complexity and seriousness of the problems facing today's mankind require, more than ever before, the participation and contribution of all states to their resolution. In this respect, the developing and non-aligned countries should play a greater and more responsible role. This is one of the basic ideas emphasized by the Belgrade conference, which Romania fully endorses with the determination to continue to act, as it has done so far, together with the non-aligned countries, in the belief that, through joint efforts and by strengthening unity and solidarity, one can ensure conditions for the free and independent development of all nations and for the fulfillment of the aspirations for peace and progress of all mankind.

Message Sent to Bulgaria's Zhivkov, Atanasov

AU1309111189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Sep 89 p 5

[Telegram from President Nicolae Ceausescu and Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu to Bulgarian Leaders Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP, and to Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, on "The Great National Holiday of the Friendly Bulgarian People"]

[Text] To Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and chairman of the State Council of People's Republic of Bulgaria and to Comrade Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

Dear Comrades: On the 45th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria, on behalf of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Central Committee, the State Council, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the whole Romanian people, and on our own behalf, we convey to you, to the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and to the friendly Bulgarian people heartfelt congratulations and cordial, comradely greetings.

The revolutionary action on 9 September 1944, under the BCP leadership, opened up the path for profound socioeconomic achievements and for building a new system in your homeland. During the period that has elapsed since that important historical event, the Bulgarian people have obtained outstanding results in developing their economy, science, and culture and in improving the working people's well-being.

In the years of socialist construction, the Romanian-Bulgarian traditional relations of friendship and cooperation have acquired new scope and, under the impact of

the summit talks and understandings, they have registered a continuously ascending course of the many-sided cooperation, for the benefit of our peoples.

We are convinced that the many-sided relations between the RCP and the BCP and between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, based on the principles of complete equality of rights, independence, national sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutually advantageous cooperation, mutual esteem, and respect, will continue to develop and consolidate, in the interest of the cause of socialism, cooperation in the Balkans and in Europe, and of security and peace throughout the world.

At this jubilee anniversary, we extend to you wishes for new and increasingly important successes in the work of implementing the program for building the developed socialist society in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Afghan Leader Najibullah Makes Short Visit

Sends Pre-Visit Message

AU0909183989 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 5 Sep 89 p 5

[Message from Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, to Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, from plane, while flying over Romanian territory]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Flying over the territory of your beautiful country on my way to Belgrade, I extend best wishes to the friendly people of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

I take this opportunity to express the will of the Afghan people and my own will to continuously develop relations of friendship and cooperation between Afghanistan and Romania, in the interest of the people in our countries.

Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan

Arrives in Bucharest

AU0709183389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1821 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 7/9/1989—Najibullah, general secretary of the Central Committee [CC] of the Democratic People's Party of Afghanistan, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, arrived in Bucharest on September 7 in the evening, for a Romanian visit as guest of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [Romanian Communist Party], president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The distinguished guest was welcomed at the Otopeni Airport by Manea Manescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, vice-president of the State Council, Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Ioan Totu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of foreign affairs, and by other officials.

Received by Ceausescu

AU0909132889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1742 GMT 8 Sep 89

["Working Visit to Romania by the President of the Republic of Afghanistan"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 8/9/1989—President Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], president of Romania, received in an official ceremony at the Republic Palace in Bucharest, on September 8 in the morning, Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, who paid a working visit to Romania.

The square in front of the palace was adorned with the state flags of Romania and Afghanistan.

President Nicolae Ceausescu cordially greeted President Najibullah. The two heads of state friendly shook hands.

The military guard lined up in honour of the president of Afghanistan, presented arms. The two countries' state anthems were played.

Continuing the ceremony the two presidents reviewed the guard of honour.

Members of the RCP and Romanian state leadership, generals, other officials were introduced to the Afghan head of state.

A group of young pioneers presented President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Najibullah with bunches of flowers.

The official departure ceremony of President Najibullah took place the same afternoon after the conclusion of the official talks and the luncheon given by President Nicolae Ceausescu.

The two presidents warmly said farewell and friendly shook hands.

The Romanian-Afghan summit dialogue is an important moment in the development of the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples, to mutual benefit, in the interests of the cause of detente and peace, understanding and collaboration among nations.

On departure at the Otopeni Airport the guest was greeted by Manea Manescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, vice president of the State Council, Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Ioan Totu, alternate memebr of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of foreign affairs, and by other officials.

Holds Official Talks

AU0909133289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1756 GMT 8 Sep 89

["Romanian-Afghan Official Talks" -AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 8/9/1989—Official talks were conducted by President Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP (Romanian Communist Party] general secretary, president of Romania, and Najibullah, general secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the Democratic People's Party of Afghanistan, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, at the Republic Palace in Bucharest, on September 8.

The talks were attended by:

For Romania Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Ioan Totu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, minister of foreign affairs, and other officials.

For Afghanistan 'Abdul Wakil, minister of foreign affairs, and other officials.

President Nicolae Ceausescu welcomed President Najibullah's working visit to Romania showing it to be an expression of the relations between Romania and Afghanistan, which opens particular prospects to the development of the friendly and cooperative links between the two countries and peoples.

President Najibullah emphasized the particular importance of the visit for the expansion of the cooperative links on multiple planes between Romania and Afghanistan.

During the talks, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Najibullah agreed to work to further develop and strengthen the bilateral links, in policy-making, economy, technics, science and culture and also the cooperation in the international life.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Najibullah also exchanged views on aspects of the international life, mostly referring to the achievement of disarmament and the ensurance of peace, the settlement of underdevelopment-related issues, the establishment of a new international economic order.

The talks underscored the importance of the political and negotiated settlement of the states of conflict and tension, all interstate litigious issues, of the elimination of the threat and use of force from international relationships. In context, the two presidents underscored the need to do everything for a political, negotiated settlement, by means of national reconciliation of the situation in Afghanistan.

During the talks, which were held in a warm, friendly atmosphere, Romania's and Afghaistan's will was reiterated to actively contribute to the establishment of a climate of peace and security, of understanding and cooperation the world over, to the fulfillment of the aspirations at freedom, independence and progress of all peoples.

Ceausescu Hosts Luncheon

AU0909134289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1805 GMT 8 Sep 89

["Luncheon"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 8/9/1989—President Nicolae Ceausescu gave a luncheon in honour of President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan, on September 8.

The luncheon was attended by members of the State Council and of the Government, and by other officials.

Attending were the officials accompanying the president of the Republic of Afghanistan in his Romanian visit.

During the luncheon, held in a warm, friendly atmoephere, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Najibullah proposed toasts.

Ceausescu Offers Toast

AU0909134389 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Sep 89 p 1

[Report on toast given by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu at a luncheon honoring Afghan President Najibullah during the latter's visit in Bucharest on 8 September]

[Text] After expressing satisfaction at the working visit paid to Romania by President Najibullah, which he assessed as an expression of the relations between Romania and Afghanistan, of the mutual wish to seek out together ways to expand the collaboration, President Nicolae Ceausescu said:

Esteemed Mr Najibullah, President of the Republic of Afghanistan, gentlemen, esteemed comrades: I would like to express satisfaction at the fact that you have accepted the invitation to pay a short working visit to Romania; on this occasion, I would like to warmly greet and welcome you and your retinue to Romania.

I consider your visit to be an expression of the relations established between Romania and Afghanistan and of the common desire to find together ways and means to expand cooperation in all spheres.

During the talks we conducted we reached fine understandings that open great prospects to the economic, technological, scientific and cultural relations between the two countries. We have agreed that our coutries' governments should organize talks in the period ahead in order to establish adequate programs of development of the economic, technological, scientific and other kinds of collaboration. As an important step on this line, we have agreed that we should start soon the opening of our countries' embassies in Bucharest and Kabul.

That is why we can say that our visit, although short, already has helped out now the seeking of various possibilities of expanding large collaboration between Romania and Afghanistan.

We have had a brief exchange of views on the situation in our countries. But I hope that during your official visit to Romania you will have the opportunity to more closely and widely know the Romanian people's achievements in socialist construction.

I have listened to your presentation of the current issues in Afghanistan. As a friend of the Afghan people, Romania welcomes your efforts, Mr.President, the efforts of your government for the negotiated, peaceful settlement of the issues in Afghanistan. We appreciate the initiatives for national reconciliation and the achievement of national unity of all social forces and categories, as your whole people's unity is of outstanding importance for the Afghan people's future. We fully sustain your initiative for the cessation of fighting and the beginning of negotiations among all forces.

We think that greatly important in this connection would be a conference of national reconciliation, with the participation of your government and also with that of the so-called exile government.

All those who wish the Afghan people's independence and welfare must sit down by the negotiation table, must work for the provision of the requisites for the Afghan people to settle its issues in a democratic, independent way, free of any outside interference. The countries that still give military support to forces of opposition must give it up and work in support of peace and national reconciliation.

As for ourselves, we consider that there is no other way than that of negotiations, reconciliation, national unity. We think that all those who apply to foreign military support work, in fact, against the Afghan people's interests and in the service of various foreign interests.

We hope for and wish you, all realistically minded national forces in Afghanistan, the soonest holding of the conference for national reconciliation and the cessation of fighting, so that you may be able to start the elaboration of a program in harmony with the Afghan people's interests of socioeconomic development, of ensuring the independence and sovereignty of the people.

We have also exchanged views on some international issues, particularly disarmament, peace, and solving the problems of underdevelopment and of the new international economic order.

Considering all this I wish once more to assess as very important your visit, the talks and the understandings we have reached on the development of the multilateral collaboration between our countries in every domain.

I would like to toast the development of relations of friendship and cooperation between Romania and Afghanistan!

I hope that the friendly Afghan people will achieve national reconciliation and unity as soon as possible and I wish them success in their independent socioeconomic development!

To your health, Mr President, and to the health of all friends and Comrades present here! (Applause)

Najibullah Offers Toast

AU1109201189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Sep 89 p 1

[Report on "President Najibullah's Toast" at a luncheon given in his honor by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu in Bucharest on 8 September]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, honored friends, gentlemen: I take this opportunity to express my satisfaction with the visit that the working summit delegation from Afghanistan is paying to the Socialist Republic of Romania.

From our point of view, this visit has a particular importance for the development and expansion of relations between our countries, relations that have a long history.

Please allow me to take this opportunity to express my heartfelt thanks for the warm welcome and hospitality that we have enjoyed in Romania, for the beautiful message that you conveyed to the Afghan people and personally to me, as well as for the way in which our delegation was welcomed by the friendly Romanian people.

This visit has offered us the opportunity to learn about some of the successes achieved by the Romanian people, under your leadership, in various fields of activity. I am convinced that the Romanian people will obtain increasingly greater successes in the future, too.

We are paying this visit to your country on our way back from the Belgrade summit conference of non-aligned countries. I would like to express my satisfaction with the fact that the proceedings of the Belgrade Conference followed the principles of the Nonaligned Movement on the need to ensure and guarantee peace throughout the

world and on establishing a world free of wars, which is the supreme ideal of the whole of mankind.

The decisions endorsed in Belgrade, including the decision on finding peaceful, political solutions to the current problems in Afghanistan, show that the Nonaligned Movement is able to play a very important role in the international arena.

Mister President, the political and military situation in Afghanistan, particularly after 15 February 1989, shows that our country is on the way to introducing a new atmosphere. The unrealistic policy of those who stubbornly continue to resort to the military way in solving problems, preferring this to peaceful solutions, is faced with great failure. The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the Armed Forces of the Republic of Afghanistan have demonstrated their unity and capability to resist in the face of the enemy, have clashed with the enemy of the Afghan people, and have fought for independence and for the defense of our national sovereignty.

Further, President Najibullah, referring to the foreign military assistance received by the opposition forces, mentioned the serious damage caused to Afghanistan by the missiles that hit towns and populated centers and that cause great losses, particularly among people, but also material damage. President Najibullah said: Children, elderly people, women, and many young people are among the victims. Great damage has been caused to the economy and construction.

The continuation of war and the interference in the domestic affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan cause not only great difficulties and misfortune for the Afghan people, but also represent a threat to peace in the whole region, which is indeed confronted with the danger of the outbreak of a war.

Mister President, with your brilliant way of thinking and with the influence you enjoy among the leaders of the world as well as with the acting president of the Nonaligned Movement, you certainly play an important role in finding solutions to the Afghan problems.

Mister President, following the policy of achieving national reconciliation, the Republic of Afghanistan forcefully emphasizes that the Afghan people can solve their own problems without any outside interference. However, unfortunately, foreign elements that emerge from the outside are intensifying the crises. We have clear evidence of the foreign interference which is directed against our country and which has a negative effect on the situation in the whole region.

The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan believes that an international conference should be organized with the participation of all forces in Afghanistan and from outside our country, as well as of all interested states, in order to seek solutions to the problems in our country.

Just as we also expressed our viewpoint during the ninth non-aligned summmit, we express our hope that the necessary conditions for national reconciliation will be created in Afghanistan. We also express our hopes that a new political atmosphere between the two great powers will assist the finding of political, peaceful solutions to the problems in Afghanistan.

We rely on your help in achieving all these aspirations, in all the efforts we make, and in the struggle we wage.

The continuation of military actions cannot lead to the results expected by the Afghan people.

Mister President, once again we would like to express our thanks for your welcome and for the hospitality that we have enjoyed here and we extend to the Romanian people wishes for the fulfillment of their aspirations for progress and prosperity!

We intend to work on multiple planes toward a broader development of Romanian-Afghan relations!

With these thoughts, allow me to raise a toast:

—to your honor Mister President!

—to the health of all of you!

I convey best wishes to the friendly Romanian people! (Applause)

Departure Cable Sent

AU1209175789 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Sep 89 p 6

[Telegram "From Aboard Presidential Plane" by Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, to President Nicolae Ceausescu on departure from Romania]

[Text] To Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Leaving the territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania, I express to you warmest gratitude for the cordial hospitality and reception extended to us during our stay in the capital city of your beautiful country.

I am convinced that the relations of friendship between Afghanistan and Romania will further consolidate and expand, to the benefit of our peoples and of peace and security in the world.

I take this opportunity to extend to you best wishes for personal health and for further progress and prosperity to your people.

Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan

Milosevic Interviewed by NEW YORK TIMES

LD0909035889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0005 GMT 9 Sep 89

[Text] New York, September 8 (TANJUG)—"Serbia does not aspire to a privileged status," said Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of this Yugoslav republic, in an interview to NEW YORK TIMES.

During an 80-minute conversation with the paper's correspondent in Belgrade, Milosevic made it clear that the "Serbs do not accept a subordinate position either."

Serbia has the largest population among the six republics making up the Yugoslav federation, in which polemics on the directions of political and economic reforms are gaining in intensity.

About eight million Serbs attended a number of mass rallies last year expressing full support to Milosevic—then president of the Serbian party leadership—in efforts to improve the constitutional position of Serbia and restore to its government jurisdiction over Vojvodina and Kosovo, the two provinces within this republic. Kosovo is known as a scene of Albanian separatist activity.

Asked about his personal attitude to the fact that his popularity is on a permanent rise, as shown among other things by the increasingly frequent display of his portraits, Milosevic replied: "To a certain extent, this is a vestige of peculiar political life which we would like to eradicate." "Overvaluation of any individual is not good for a democratic society," he explained.

Political leaderships in some Yugoslav republics ascribe to Milosevic the ambition to appropriate President Tito's cult. In the interview to NEW YORK TIMES the Serbian leader strongly denied having personal political ambitions and said he was confident that there were many young people capable of exercising the duties his post implied.

Milosevic saw Yugoslavia's deep political and economic crisis as a result of a bad constitution and the wrong system it inaugurated. These are the main obstacles to a turn towards a market economy, he said.

Serbian Secretary Praises Interview

AU1009194089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 9 Sep 89

[Text] In connection with the interview granted by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidium of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, to the NEW YORK TIMES, Aleksandar Prlja, republican secretary for relations with foreign countries, has stated among other things:

The interview that [name indistinct], distinguished journalist of the NEW YORK TIMES, the most influential U.S. newspaper, conducted with Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidium of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, is evidence of an encouraging evolution. It will help to create a much more objective picture among the American public of the policy of Serbia and the situation in Yugoslavia.

I believe it is of particular importance that for the third time in a short period, the NEW YORK TIMES has presented a much more objective picture, different from the one created in the American public by the enemies of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

100 Romanian Refugees Seek Help in UN Office

AU1309093589 Vienna ORF Teletext in German 1806 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade—Today [11 September], approximately 100 Romanian refugees asked for help in the UN office in Belgrade and demanded to be permitted to resettle in the West. Most of them said that the "repressive" regime of Romanian Head of State Ceausescu and the shortage of basic foods and fuels are the reason why they fled.

The Belgrade government permits most Romanians who successfully cross the closely guarded border to stay in Yugoslavia until they can resettle in the West, or until they are granted UN refugee status.

Drnovsek Sends Condolences to Romania's Ceausescu

LD1209050589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1419 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Sep (TANJUG)—On the occasion of the accident of a Romanian ship on the Danube and the tragic loss of a great number of human lives, Dr Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, sent a telegram of condolence to Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu.

Nigeria's Babangida Visits, Holds Talks

Dinner Hosted by Drnovsek

LD0809220689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1341 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 8 Sep (TANJUG)—Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, hosted a formal dinner in honor of General Ibrahim Babangida, president of Nigeria and commander of Nigeria's Armed Forces. During the toast at the dinner, Danez Drnovsek said that the stay of the esteemed guest from Nigeria in Yugoslavia immediately following the ninth nonaligned summit is a "confirmation of the significance that our country attaches to the role of Nigeria, not only on the African continent, but also within the Nonaligned Movement [NAM].

Janez Drnovsek also expressed his belief that "this meeting will provide a fresh impetus for even better mutual understanding and an improvement in all forms of cooperation, particularly economic cooperation which is still below real potential."

Speaking about the successfully completed ninth NAM summit, Drnovsek said: "I am hoping that the adopted documents will represent significant and necessary directions for all of us toward the necessary modernization of our movement in order to make it more efficient, and to enable it to meet the challenges of the modern world. What we find very important is the achieved concordance of the movement's members on this and on the priorities of its future activities. I believe that our two countries will engage consistently and unselfishly in the realization of the ninth summit's decisions in order to affirm the NAM as an indispensable factor of peace, progress, and stability in modern international relations.

Speaking about the new positive trends in the world, where the tense situation is being replaced by a processs of relaxation, Janez Drnovsek stressed that it is important for every country, regardless of their size and power, to assume their share of the responsibility for continuing these positive developments.

Illustrating this unprecedented progress, Janez Drnovsek said that "the South African region bears witness to this, where now we are hoping the way has finally been made to implement the resolution on Namibia and its independence that has for decades been awaited."

The president of the SFRY Presidency also stressed that "Yugoslavia fully supports the initiative of the Organization of African Unity for convening a special international conference on Africa's debts.

"Without a greater understanding of the developed world, the developing countries can hardly escape the vicious circle of economic stagnation and lagging behind", Janez Drnovsek said among other things in his toast. [passage omitted]

Meets With Drnovsek

LD0809215389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1955 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 8 (TANJUG)—The major lines of activities of the non-aligned countries and Yugoslavia, which chairs the movement after the ninth summit, and the development of Yugoslav-Nigerian relations highlighted a talk here tonight between the two countries' presidents Janez Drnovsek and Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida.

The head of State of Nigeria, now on his official and friendly visit to Yugoslavia, pointed out that the summit in Belgrade was organized exceptionally well and promised his country's extensive help to the newly-chosen coordinator of the movement.

Drnovsek and Babangida held that one of the Non-Aligned Movement's key tasks in the immediate future was the precise development of a platform for dialogues with industrialized countries. The platform, adjusted to contemporary trends in the world, would concentrate principally on the problems of development of the developing countries and on the transformation of international economic relations.

In reviewing these and other points, Babangida said Nigeria believed that Yugoslavia was the right choice for chairing the Non-Aligned Movement considering the current changes that characterize the international political and economic developments.

From now on, Drnovsek and Babangida emphasized, Yugoslavia and Nigeria think to improve economic ties substantially in order to facilitate the settling of their own economic crises and the strengthening of cooperation amongst the non-aligned and developing countries.

Honored for Work

AB0909110289 Lagos Domestic Service in English 1800 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Talks are in progress in Belgrade between Nigeria and Yugoslavia on the strengthening of relations between the two countries. The talks started as President Ibrahim Babangida began a state visit to that country after attending the summit of the Nonaligned Movement. Here is State House Correspondent Reginald Okoge with a report:

[Begin recording] The state visit took off with General Babangida being bestowed with the honorary citizenship of the city of Belgrade. [words indistinct] conferring the honor on Gen Babangida was presented to him by the Mayor of the city, Mr (Aleksandra Mako Shokeshik), at the historic (Virgina), Palace built during the early part of this century. The mayor said the honor was given to Gen Babangida because of his immense contribution to the development of the Nonaligned Movement and relations between Nigeria and Yugoslavia. After the brief ceremony, the Nigeria leader drove to the tomb of the unknown warrior at Mount (Avala) about 10 km away from the city, where he laid a wreath. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, talks between officials of both countries have begun. They will [word indistinct] mainly on economic issues. At the moment, trade between the two countries in favor of Yugoslavia. It is expected that the talks will try to explore ways of striking a balance in their trade relations. Yugoslav companies in Nigeria are engaged in construction, pharmaceutical, and rural electrification projects. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Discusses Ties With Drnovsek

LD0909225389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2202 GMT 9 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, September 9 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and Nigeria will in the coming period devote the greatest attention to the development of the mutual economic cooperation, whose current level is not satisfactory, as it was set out in the closing talks held here this evening

between Yugoslav State Presidency President Dr Janez Drnovsek and his guest, Nigerian head of state Ibrahimi Badamasi Babangida.

The two sides underscored that, apart from intensifying the bilateral trade, the two national economies could strengthen also more advanced forms of cooperation.

Both sides expressed the readiness within the shortest possible period to draw up and sign two agreements—on avoiding dual taxation and on the protection of investments.

Nigeria, as has been learned, is interested in engaging Yugoslav experts in its projects for the protection of the human environment.

Within the exchange of views on international questions, the two sides carefully reviewed the upcoming tasks of the Non-aligned Movement and Yugoslavia, as the movement's new country-chairman.

Drnovsek Receives Visiting Vietnamese President

LD0809192189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1639 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 8 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia, as the movement of non-alignment chairman in the next three years, is ready to participate in seeking a just, peaceful solution to the Kampuchean crisis, Presidency of Yugoslavia President Dr Janez Drnovsek said in talks today with Vietnamese State Council President Vo Chi Cong.

The Vietnamese president said that his country is firmly committed to settling the crisis in Kampuchea by political means and informed the Yugoslav president that by September 26 Vietnam will withdraw its troops from Kampuchea. Vietnamese troops moved into Kampuchea at the threshold of 1979.

The Vietnamese president is on a two-day working visit to Yugoslavia. The Vietnamese president headed his country's delegation at the ninth Non-aligned summit in Belgrade.

Vo Chi Cong informed Drnovsek about conditions in Vietnam, particularly the principles and goals of the current economic and political reform in the country.

The Vietnamese president urged the promotion of Yugoslav-Vietnamese cooperation, particularly at the economic level, and proposed a meeting of the two countries' economic experts who should establish modalities for projects which would pave the road for promoting bilateral economic cooperation. Last year Yugoslav-Vietnamese trade was worth less than 100,000 dollars.

[Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1517 GMT on 8 September transmits a report on the talks between Drnovsek and the Vietnamese president which adds the following paragraph: "The president of the SFRY Presidency received the Vietnamese head of state's speech with interest and agreed with his views on the need to strengthen bilateral cooperation and to find a solution to the Cambodian crisis by political means. Dr Drnovsek said that Yugoslavia, as a nonaligned country, and particularly now that it is presiding over the movement of 102 states and liberation organizations, is prepared to involve itself in helping to find a just and peaceful solution to this crisis."]

Hanoi VNA Reports Visit

BK1209012889 Hanoi VNA in English 1535 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Hanoi VNA September 11—Vietnamese State Council President Vo Chi Cong concluded on September 10 his friendship visit to Yugoslavia.

Earlier on September 8, President Vo Chi Cong held talks with Milan Pancevski, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY). Both sides briefed each other on the present tasks of each party and held that the two parties should further step up the exchange of information and their contacts so as to enhance the mutual understanding.

The same day, Minister Nikola Gasoski, representative of the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia, paid a courtesy visit to the Vietnamese president.

The following day, President Vo Chi Cong visited the Belgrade Agro-industry Complex and the city of Topola where he met with leading officials of the Serbia Republic and the city.

Local Official Dismissed for Arms Sales

LD1209192589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1604 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Kosovska Kamenica, 12 Sep (TANJUG)—Ramadan Sermadzaj, secretary of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Kosovska Kamenica, has been dismissed from his post for numerous shortcomings in his work, exceeding his authority, and misuse of the post. It has been learned that he is responsible also for illegal sales of arms and ammunition in Kosovska Kamenica municipality.

Halim Hajdari is acting secretary of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Kosovska Kamenica. Hajdari has previously held this this post.

Titograd LC Demands Expulsion of 2 Members

LD1209202589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1721 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Titograd, 12 Sep (TANJUG)—Members of the Titograd League of Communists [LC] Municipal Committee unanimously demanded tonight that Slobodan Filipovic and Andjelko Kovacevic, members of the LCY Central Committee, be expelled from this highest party organ.

This stance by the Titograd party committee followed the assessments that speeches by Filipovic and Kovacevic at yesterday's session of the LCY Central Committee were defensive, unprincipled, and unreasonable. At the same time, support was given to the positions of the Montenegro LC Central Committee that Slobodan Filipovic and Andjelko Kovacevic be relieved of their membership in the LCY Central Committee.

Further Reportage on Slovene Popit's Resignation

DELO Comments on Resignation

AU1309104189 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 9 Sep 89 p 1

[Boris Jez "Topic of the Day" commentary: "There Was No 'Eighth Session'"]

[Text] France Popit's voluntary departure from the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia is of course a first-class political event for Slovenia, although it does not contain the amount of the useful "ideopolitical charge" that some people try to see in their present ideological cussedness. Whether he admits it or not, France Popit mounted a purely political assault on the present political leadership, and the "world view" arguments used by him are a tested kind of ammunition.

We can of course only guess at what he really wanted to achieve with his letter to the Central Committee, but it does seem that he miscalculated the present relationship of forces, and especially the feelings of the people. In a way, he has even done a kind of service to the present leading line of the League of Communists of Slovenia, for Kucan's team obtained full support in the discussion yesterday. Thus the entire matter becomes interesting primarily in light of the conflict of generations; a part of the older Party leadership is obviously worried because of the "radicalism" of the young people, and one can expect sharp discussions at least until the congress. However, we must not overlook the political mastery of Milan Kucan, who was able to turn the entire move, essentially directed against himself, into a process of internal party democratization.

At the plenum yesterday, France Popit was not subjected to any anathema, and in a certain sense this is the outcome of the political conflict which is least favorable for Popit himself. Although the date was 8 September, the "eighth session" [alluding to the eighth session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia in September 1987, at which Milosevic ousted his opponents] was not repeated and this in fact is the most tangible evidence that something new and significant is happening in the League of Communists of Slovenia. If there were no hesitation, objections, and resignations like Popit's, one would be forced to doubt that this was so.

Radio Views Resignation

AU1009174289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 10 Sep 89

[Text] Here is Dragan Stavljanin from Ljubljana on some messages of Popit's resignation after the plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia:

Is the Popit case really a case in the political sense of the word or does this involve a normal occurrence when in a dynamic political life [word indistinct] ideas and power are constantly shifting, not losing sight of the fact that, as in other instances, politics also has a past, present, and future?

It is difficult to give a precise answer to this. Nevertheless, the above involves the inevitability of social trends when at the given moment, the old creators of the system depart and the new ones arrive. This is, however, a case if one bears in mind the specific circumstance of how this case arose. So that there is no uncertainty: Popit contributed most to the case being in this form.

Knowing that a conflict must at some time arise, he took the first step. Popit himself realized the inexorable logic of historical processes and that the time of his power and ideas which left its stamp on Slovenia in the 1970's and at the beginning of the 1980's—which is also called a leaden time—had passed. Therefore, sending a letter to the public and the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia in which he does not agree with some measures of the present republican party leadership, should not be interpreted as a struggle for power.

By attacking the presidium of the Slovene party for being too distant from the grass roots, exaggerated flirtation with the alternative scene, and radicalism in the sense of a revision of some ideas of socialism, Franc Popit in fact wanted to in some way defend past times before he departed from the political scene. He wanted his departure-exit to be a settling of accounts with the past, knowing that in this case, history would give it a different place.

Rejecting most of Popit's accusations at the plenum held the day before yesterday, the present party leadership of Slovenia wanted his statement to be interpreted as an expression of the freedom of thought, as a normal occurrence in democratic political life. However, the attack by the former leader of the Slovene Communists was in some way a blow to the present leadership. As is being said here, this could offer the occasion for an even greater attack on the League of Communists of Slovenia from other parts of the country because of the supposed exactness of some of Popit's stands.

In the meantime, the alternative movements have kept quiet. They have probably not rejoiced at this conflict but have waited with anticipation for the victory of the present party leadership's line, which means more opportunities for their activities.

By rejecting Popit's accusations and publicly distancing itself from the first line in the Slovene party, the Communist leadership seems to have restored its standing among the public and its position on the political stock market has improved considerably, as well-informed observers are claiming. Thus, the party which occupied fourth place as a political force in a recent public opinion survey, has now probably moved to the first in popularity. This is not only because of the Popit affair but also because the alternative movements, which have been acquiring greater room for action, have finally shown their real force. Virtually optimistically criticizing everything that exists, they know that they do not want it. However, it is obvious that they do not know what they do want because they have still not given one single concrete response to the burning questions of our [word indistinct].

Otherwise, on the Slovene political scene, the formulation of the amendments to the republican constitution is coming to an end. One of the starting points of this act and, as is well known, of all currents of the political life here—even though there are differences among them—is the preservation of as much republican independence as possible.

Slovene Parties Threaten Election Boycott

AU1209163689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Sep 89 p 7

[D. Draskovic report: "The Alternative Groups Threaten a Boycott"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 5 Sep—The coordination body of the political organizations and movements of Slovenia—or more popularly the political alternative groups—cite in a joint message to the public that the working text of the proposed changes to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia which relate to the electoral system is complicated and confused. Therefore, the Greens of Slovenia, the Slovene Peasants Alliance, the Slovene Democratic Alliance, the Socialist Youth Federation of Slovenia, the Social Democratic Alliance of Slovenia, the Slovene Writers Association, the Slovene Christian Socialist Movement, and the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights not only believe that the proposed electoral system is unclear, but that it does not facilitate elections between different candidates.

Thus, the coordination body of the alternative groups is offering its version of the simplification of the structure of the republican Assembly, in which the general authority of one chamber should be established for cases where there is disagreement between the chambers in the Assembly itself. In the opinion of the alternative groups, the sociopolitical chamber should have the last word in such cases and they propose an increase in the number of its members, as well as a reduction in the members of the associated labor chamber. The alternative groups think that the chamber of communes should have more delegate places. Thus, the introduction of the so-called proportional system would ensure that after elections for the sociopolitical chamber, each political organization would receive the number of seats proportionate to the percentage of the electorate which voted for the program of that organization and its candidates.

The coordination body of the alternative groups demands that the time of elections for the republican and federal assemblies be different from the time of elections for the communal and city assemblies. The former would be carried out in the spring and the latter in the fall. There is also a demand for the so-called free nomination of candidates, and candidates could also be proposed by political organizations and other sponsors directly, as well as by voters' meeting, or by collecting signatures.

Moreover, the alternative groups are advocating that laws on the political organization of citizens be adopted, as well as equal opportunities for communicating with the public and the equal representation of candidates and their programs on the radio, the television, and the rest of the media that were founded by the Socialist Alliance of Working People. The alternative groups think that all organizations should receive equal finances to cover the costs of the pre-election campaign and other activities connected with the elections. Every candidate, say the alternative groups, must have the right to his own representative at every polling station and in the work of the supervisory and voting commissions.

If their demands are not met, say the members of the coordination body of the alternative groups, it could happen that they will boycott the next elections, and this would crucially complicate the democratic process in the political life of Slovenia. Therefore, a boycott will be avoided, but at the same time they are calling on the public to support them in their demands. If they are rejected before the boycott, then the alternative groups are demanding a referendum on the contentious questions in the electoral system, which would be decided upon by all citizens of the republic.

Economic Sovereignty Criticism Viewed

AU0909132089 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1700 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Janko Saradzen talk]

[Text] The commentaries on the changes in the Slovene Constitution have sonorous headlines, such as, More than Harmonization, Barrier to Federation, and even, An End to a Law-Governed State, and accompanied with statements that for the first time in our constitutional practice, the provisions of a republican Constitution are not simply harmonized with the provisions of the federal Constitution but differ essentially from the latter and even contradict it.

Regarding the amendments in the socioeconomic field, it is admitted that Slovenia has gone further and has adjusted the text to some federal systemic laws, which

the federal Constitution has failed to do, and has introduced terms such as enterprise, profit, shares, and the like. Amendment X is a great stumbling block. It defines the right of the republic to economic sovereignty. It is said that the adoption of this amendment would endanger the (?set) system of socialist self-management or rather the realization of common interests in the federation.

Slovenia rejects this assertion by arguing that all the rights and duties determined by the federal Constitution are being taken over by Slovenia and are being implemented, and the said amendment cannot and does not want to change this practice. Even the realization of the joint functions of the federation is not being questioned.

It is a fact that the criticism of this amendment is more (?of) a political (?nature) than (?based on) constitutional law, but it is also a fact that Croatia has had such a provision in its Constitution for 15 years and nobody has opposed it. If the federal Constitution contains the provision that every citizen may freely control the results of his labor, it logically follows that the citizens in the republic may freely decide on their labor and the results of their labor, and control the natural wealth and natural resources.

To tell the truth, even the international agreement on civil and political rights ratified by Yugoslavia assures economic sovereignty to the people. To create a problem out of this amendment could be a result of misunderstanding its content or the constitutional concept of the federation, or a belief that the federation should reach the results of labor created in Slovenia without the assent of the republics and provinces. This, too, would be a change in the concept of the federal relations which cannot be consented to, although some people persistently offer it as (?a paramount expression of) an efficient, but alienated federation.

Slovene Constitutional Commission on Amendments

LD1209212989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1421 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 12 Sep (TANJUG)—The proposed amendments to the constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia provide a basis for significant changes in the sociopolitical and political situation and for strengthening the status and sovereignty of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia as a state within the SFRY, which is a free and equal federal unit of the community of nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia. This was stressed at the beginning of a 2-day session of the Commission for Constitutional Issues of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, which should establish proposed amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and a proposed constitutional law on their implementation. According to Miran Potrc, chairman of the commission, the proposed text is a good basis for the adoption of the amendments.

The content of the working proposal is significantly better than the draft proposals, and it acknowledges stances and demands from the public debate to the greatest possible degree. A part of the professional circles in Yugoslavia ascribe the same importance to the working text, Potrc stressed.

Today members of the commission received a report of competent departments of the SFRY Presidency, as well as the letter that the President of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia sent to the SFRY Presidency. The commission also received a report of a special group that analyzed the text of the competent departments of the SFRY Presidency.

The group judged that the prepared report of the competent SFRY Presidency departments offers neither professional nor legal arguments for the statement that the proposed amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia contradicted the SFRY Constitution. The report of the competent departments disregards the fact that a Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia can regulate all issues not covered by the SFRY Constitution; and that the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, unless explicitly contradicting the SFRY Constitution, can regulate in greater detail all issues regarding the common basis of the system.

The competent departments of the SFRY Presidency do not acknowledge the fact that the direct legal sources of the proposed amendments are also international conventions, which are ratified and implemented, as well as the fact that the Yugoslav federation is based on the sovereignty of the republics and the right to self- determination as a permanent and inalienable right, and the fact that common functions of the federation are the results of agreements between the republics and provinces.

In addition, it was judged that the report of the competent departments of the SFRY Presidency goes beyond professional assessment, for it includes political evaluations of the consequences of the adoption of the proposed amendments, including the assessment that their adoption would impact negatively on the functioning of the federation, and the integrity and sovereignty of the SFRY.

The essence of the assessment is not in professional arguments, but in political qualifications aimed at showing that there are aspirations towards the breaking up of Yugoslavia in Slovenia. Therefore, it is necessary to discuss these issues, above all, at the political level using political, and not just professional and legal, arguments.

The group thinks that the prepared report of the competent departments of the SFRY Presidency cannot be accepted at all as a basis for a discussion in the SFRY Presidency. It is necessary to draw the state Presidency's attention to the danger of prejudging the issue and the political consequences of a possible discussion on, and attempts to assess, the amendments to the Constitution

to the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, without these being initiated and agreed upon by the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

The session of the Commission agreed that, in the final phase of its work on preparing a proposed text of amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, it should take into account not just views formed in this phase of the debate, but everything said in the debate hitherto, even all arguments given 'for' and 'against' certain solutions by the Constitutional Commission, the Assembly, and the public. The essence of the work of the Commission, Potrc stressed, will be precisely the consistent respect for stances given in the public debate and majority views, because the Commission is obliged to prepare proposed amendments, so that delegates of all three chambers of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia could proclaim amendments as adopted at their session on 27 September.

Slovene Leftist, Rightist Coalitions To Form

AU1209195989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Members of the meeting held at the Ljubljana Cankar Hall plan to form a permanent coalition roundtable to exchange opinions and coordinating stances. What is also involved is the establishing of the rules of behavior in a political pluralist system before the elections take place, as well as in the next term of the new parliament. Here is a report by Relja Atanasijevic:

The creation of two cooperation coalitions—the leftist and the rightist—has already started on the Slovene pluralist political scene. The leftist wing contains representatives of the League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance of Working People, the Socialist Youth Federation, the Slovene Peasants Alliance, Bavcar's Committee, and the Slovene Democratic Alliance. The representatives of the Slovene writers and of the PEN club, who are also among the signatories of the statement of the Cankar Hall meeting have said they are not interested in participating at the roundtable. Various alternative alliances can also join this roundtable provided they have been officially registered, even as parties.

There are two basic aims of this leftist group which merit special attention. The first one is that the representatives of the six alliances and movements participate—jointly, on an equal footing, and without anybody being favored—in drafting the law on political (?association) and creating the new electoral system which should open its doors to alternative movements, too. The second aim of the six is to exchange opinions and coordinate stances at the roundtable and subsequently comply with the agreement thus reached, without any bickering. They plan to draft the rules of procedure and regulations of behavior of the leftist group, that is, coalition.

In a way, this roundtable represents a copy of those in Poland and Hungary. The sides represented at this Slovene cooperation forum of a more durable character obviously plan to play a role not only in the pre-electoral activities, but also in creating the future Slovene parliamentary assembly in which they will seek points of contact and joint solutions. It remains to be seen what will come out of all this. It also remains to be seen what the coalition of rightist forces in Slovenia will look like.

BORBA Interviews Bosnian Leader Durakovic

AU0809075789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Aug 89 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Nijaz Durakovic, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina by Enver Demirovic: "Slogans and Banners—the System of Arguing"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] It seems that for quite a long time "policies" have been formulated in Yugoslavia whose essence and existence lies in the maintenance and reproduction or, in fact, production of conflicts and confrontation and the production of a collective consciousness in society according to the model of friend and enemy, hatred for people and love for people, ours and yours, East and West, Catholic and Byzantine, Christian and oriental Muslim, Balkan-barbarian and Central Europe-civilized, and so on.

[Durakovic] The production of a public and social consciousness according to these models and patterns, which is nothing unfamiliar in the history of undemocratic societies, is the basic lever of policies which can exist only as a general and most often manipulative mobilization of people, citizens, and nations. Herein lies the very essence of these "policies" and they cannot survive on different principles. The prerequisite for these "policies" and their representatives to be maintained is for a constant mobilization, ideological campaign, and indoctrination to be carried out. These "policies" take monism in the sphere of thought and action as their supreme principle, and they promote the absolutism and dogmatism of one, that is, their own truth as a universal right and exclusive monopoly. It is no accident, then, that these "policies" generally relate to their own public according to the principle of slogans: Using the force of a media under direction, one slogan or another is launched into the public as the condensed expressions of one policy, which are then repeated in unison and learnt as phrases and the only system of argumentation. This is what happens from Djevdjelija to Triglav. Reducing public opinion to the systemic production and repetition of slogans, phrases, and mottos means nothing more than the suspension of the freedom of thought, the annihilation of an entire wealth of ideas and views, and the introduction into public life of the policy of a unidimensional way of thinking. Even though we still swear by democracy and pluralism, slogans or banners in such a policy become at the same time a signal for an attack by supposedly democratic public opinion on individuals and people who do not think the same and who participate in public dialogue. Thus we come to

patterns of uniform public activity under the guise of the freedom to respond and react to statements and discussions in party life and political life in general.

This quite unusual but nevertheless bitter assessment of our relations was the beginning of our interview with Dr Nijaz Durakovic, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina. It is not typical of the young president and scientist to avoid "the most unpleasant" questions and this was the way he behaved in this comprehensive interview with Enver Demirovic, editor of BORBA's office for Bosnia-Hercegovina. [passage omitted]

[Question] The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina was itself recently faced with the brutality of the pressure of one political and very offensively expressed monism regarding speeches by some of its members. How did the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina react, and what kind of experience was gleaned from this confrontation?

[Durakovic] It is true that we were in a position to feel the results of this uniform or black-and-white reasoning and onslaught, which was aimed more at personalities than at the content of speeches by some members of the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY]. We nevertheless managed to ensure in our Central Committee an affirmation of the principles according to which a member of the Central Committee has the full right to the freedom to express his own opinion; according to which he has the right to defend his own view through rational arguments before the Central Committee itself and the public; according to which not even the Presidium of the Central Committee will, or can, take over from the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina the role of the final arbitrator of the views of the members of the Central Committee of the LCY. Neither did we agree to treat the members of the Central Committee of the LCY different from the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina as a delegation which is lectured to by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which also regulates what it should say.

On the contrary, we respect the democratic and statutorily established rights of the members of the Central Committee of the LCY from the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina and those of all other members of the Central Committee of the LCY to freely and critically present their own view. We also adhere to the principle that they suffer the criticism and bear the responsibility for their stands before the Central Committee of the LCY itself. Of course, this does not mean that we are ignoring the mood of the public concerning the stands of the members of the highest organs of the LCY from the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina. But neither are we ready to uncritically take on board criteria which have been imposed from one side, which have been formulated in a feudalized information area, in its own kind of propaganda war, and which set down what is proper and what is not proper in speeches, and what is good and what is bad.

[Question] Not even your public speeches and particularly those at the 25th session of the Central Committee of the LCY, where you spoke about some aspects of interethnic relations in Yugoslavia, have avoided the censure of the "monistic mind." For example, some people have even called you a newborn fighter for brotherhood and unity and so on?

[Durakovic] The number of cases of direct criticism of my speeches is relatively small and from that point of view would not deserve any special attention. A lot of different things show the politicking background and base motives of this criticism. But nevertheless, let me comment on such criticism, if only because this is part of the wider concept of anti-Titoism whose main target is in fact Tito's policy of interethnic relations in a socialist Yugoslavia. Of course, I will also be accused of hiding behind Tito. However, the author of the aforementioned slur, for example, about me being a newborn fighter for brotherhood and unity, overtly moves within this concept, supporting the idea that the constitutional concept of interethnic relations should be changed because, according to him, the 1974 Constitution was the result of Tito's and Kardelj's pact with the ideologists of the mass movement [in Croatia in 1971] or of a new Comintern conspiracy, and also because the system of interethnic relations during Tito's life rested solely on his authority. Now that Tito is no longer alive, this concept is finally failing and should be completely rejected. In a word, these and similar ideas were a part of the wider anti-Titoist strategy to which there has unfortunately been no energetic reply from parts of the LC. This strategy definitely includes a rejection of the axiology of brotherhood and unity which has been called worn-out, somewhat anachronistic, outmoded, and even anti-civilizational. It is as if brotherhood among people and nations is not in fact one of the essential civilizational achievements of bourgeois revolutions, achievements to which our socialist revolution has given quite new, qualitatively richer, and more humane elements. Therefore, I think that, from the civilizational viewpoint, the viewpoint of our historical experiences, and generally from the viewpoint of providing historical prerequisites for the free and peaceful development of Yugoslavia and all its peoples and nationalities, the policy and axiology of brotherhood and unity under socialist conditions continue to remain a historically effective and essential prerequisite for our survival and an aim that the LC will not be able to renounce.

Migration Toward "National Centers"

[Question] How do you view the migratory trends in Bosnia-Hercegovina? There has recently been increasing speculation about this issue as well. Is there any scientific data on this?

[Durakovic] It is certain that the popularization of scientific insights into migratory trends in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the country could be a rational basis for demistifying various nationalist manipulations of the phenomenon of migration. There have been many of these manipulations even regarding migratory trends in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Thus, for example, there have been attempts to project the Kosovo situation onto circumstances in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Objective and legal migratory processes, as a result of the free movement of the work force, postwar mass colonization, and economic cultural conditions and civilizational currents, are equated with national motives, nationalist influence, and alleged tendencies toward the creation of ethnic and nationally pure communities. In this respect, the fact is of course ignored that the migrations are a Yugoslav phenomenon, which is illustrated, for example, by the fact that two out of five Yugoslavs do not live in the place where they were born. Bosnia-Hercegovina is the most intense migratory region in Yugoslavia.

Regarding inter-republic migration, it should be said that the ethnic Serbian and Croatian population has predominated in its increasing emigration and immigration in absolute terms and in their increasing overall balance of migration. However, the pronounced tendency of an absolute and relative reduction in the number of arriving Croats (since 1961) and Serbs (in absolute terms since 1971) has been accompanied by the opposite tendency among Muslims. The immigration of Muslims from Serbia, Kosovo, and Montenegro to Bosnia-Hercegovina has recently increased. The reasons for these migratory trends should now be examined. However, emigration has increased among all three peoples. Virtually every other emigrant from Bosnia-Hercegovina is of Serbian nationality; one in three or four is of Croatian nationality; and one in twenty is of Muslim nationality.

However, on the other hand, Serbs have immigrated most of all to Bosnia-Hercegovina (one in three), followed by Muslims (one in five), and Croats (one in six of the total number of immigrants).

A characteristic of Bosnia-Hercegovina with regard to inter-republic migration is the high national concentration, that is to say the direction of the emigrations; Croats go to Croatia and Serbs to Serbia, while Muslims mainly go to Croatia or to Slovenia to a considerably greater extent than Serbs and Croats. It is typical that migratory trends generally go toward so-called national centers. [pasage omitted]

Where Does the Idea About the Denial of Muslims Come From

[Question] Recently there have been increasingly frequent attempts among the public to call into question the national identity of Muslims. What do you think about the nature of these attempts, their motivation, aims, and consequences?

[Durakovic] There have been different views, controversies, and misunderstandings about the existence and national affirmation of Bosnia-Hercegovinan and Yugoslav Muslims in the last few decades. Despite the fact that we in the LC resolved to a certain extent the question of the national identity of Muslims 20 years ago, these controversies have recently resurfaced, but this time in a special context which has recognizable nationalist connotations. In this context, not even Muslims could remain unscathed by nationalist aggression which uses different "arguments" to bring their national essence into question. The most trivial "arguments" include the old reactionary view which equates Muslims with Turks, with some oriental Asian elements, and so on. Their culture, tradition, literature, entire national inheritance, and Slavic roots are totally denied. [passage omitted]

There is no need to continue to cite these and similar ideas, but it should be stressed that they are to the advantage of increasingly aggressive attempts to compromise the entire policy of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and therefore the LCY on the national issue. All these and similar claims do not hold water in the face of the historic fact that nations objectively exist, and that no policy can be used to either negate or promote them.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Central Committee on Congress

LD0909212789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1008 GMT 9 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Sep 9 (TANJUG)—The draft resolutions of the 10th congress of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists [LC], those concerning the development orientation of the republic in the conditions of economic reform, concerning the LC in the further democratization of social relations and changes in the political system, and concerning stable intranational relations, reflect initiatives for reform and portray the main tendencies and contradictions of the current socioeconomic and political situation. This was stressed at today's session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee which is among the first to consider congress resolutions in this form.

The proposed draft resolutions, which after today's session will be submitted to the membership as a whole for a decision, are partly anticipatory, with specific indications for future development, and in part they put forward answers to questions which impose themselves on us in our controversial social and political situation. This was noted by Najaz Durakovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium in his introductory remarks.

One of the limiting factors in the preparations of the highest gathering of Bosnia-Hercegovina communists and its documents lies in the fact that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee is late in adopting several vital congress documents without which no proper political answers can be given to a series of delicate and complex questions, and nor

can individual documents be drawn up for republican congresses or provincial conferences. This is the case, Durakov said, with the theses for the development of ideo-political bases for LC activity in changes to the political system and with the changes and amendments to the LCY statute. An overall party discussion on the "basic directions for the transformation of the LCY" has also been delayed. [passage omitted]

Durakovic said the Central Committee will not, at any price, abandon the democratic course which it has struggled so painstakingly for in recent years, and along which it has already achieved definite results.

On several occasions we have said, Durakovic continued, that we resolutely reject unprincipled attacks on individual members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee and members of the LCY Central Committee from the Bosnia- Hercegovina LC, and we reject the blanket assessments about their statements and that we do not accept the practice of unreasoned labeling, or politically condemning people in advance, or, as is often the case, the practice of disqualifying people in a primitive and unprecedented way. At the same time, however we take the view that the freedom to one's own opinion and initiative also presupposes a full awareness and understanding on the part of each LC member as to whether, and to what extent, their opinion or view on any given issue affects national relations in their own or other environments, whether and to what extent they irritate others and provoke confrontations, and whether and to what extent they constructively contribute to calming conflicts and divisions and removing doubts and suspicions.

Speaking about the draft congress resolutions, Nijaz Durakovic pointed to the real fear that, in the Yugoslav multi-national community, if a multi-party system were opted for, political parties would organize themselves above all on a national basis. In any case, he continued, there are no dilemmas on these issues in the resolution we remain with the standpoint of our historical aim: a struggle for a nonparty society. [passage omitted]

Not only do questions of interethnic relations in Yugoslavia have a negative influence upon the state of interethnic relations in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but they also certainly bring in elements of confusion, defeatism, and attempts at revising our attitudes so far in this sphere among the party membership, working people, and citizens, Durakovic said. In his opinion, it is precisely this negative background—made up of increasingly open and aggressive ideological and even political attacks on the historic individuality of Bosnia-Hercegovina and its status, established by the constitution, within the Yugoslav Socialist Federation—which demands that the congress repeat in one concise resolution, for the umpteenth time, the fundamental attitudes of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC toward the policy of interethnic relations, and to define what kind of status and character the communists of this republic will fight for. [passage omitted]

Fuad Muhic said that "today one should follow the logic of crisis" and that "the force which will lead society out of the crisis will have legitimacy". Whether it will have a communist name or some other is of no relevance for an ordinary man, Muhic said, and added that these things will be solved by life rather than by theory. Zdravko Grebo said that here one should wait for the new concept of the constitution and the big political debate in Yugoslavia; all the more so since the LC of this republic is just one part of Yugoslavia. In Miomira Tausan's opinion, resolutions are in fact just one way in which this republic can offer its attitude toward our present political and economic reality. [passage omitted]

A stand was also adopted that a certain rehabilitation should be carried out in municipal committees of those people—if there are any—who in 1972 defended the four revolutionaries. It was concluded that ideo-political measures of ideo-political responsibility should not be meted out to the political leadership at that moment in time since that was part of the generally accepted situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee also adopted a decision that the 10th congress of this republic's LC is to be held on 7-9 December this year in Sarajevo.

Further Reportage on Nevesinje Protest Meetings

Organizers Sentenced

AU0909130889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] The Nevesinje communal misdemeanor court has handed down sentences to (?seven) members of the organizational committee of the protest meetings that were held in the commune this summer despite a ban imposed by the communal secretariat for internal affairs.

To mark the hearing, members of the organizational committee of the protest meetings collected about 1,000 signatures from Nevesinje citizens for a petition demanding that the misdemeanor proceedings be stopped. Otherwise, they say that new protest meetings and strikes will be organized.

Executive Council Comments

LD1209205989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0923 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 12 Sep (TANJUG)—The republic's executive council will do its utmost to secure public peace and order in Nevesinje, to protect citizens' property and their legally-guaranteed safety. Vojin Telgetija, member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Executive Council, said in connection with the protest meetings in this commune.

A working group formed by the Executive Council has been in Nevesinje since 10 September. Its task is to assist the administrative organs of Nevesinje municipality.

According to Telgetija, illegitimate pressures to establish responsibility and to determine whether the law had been violated will be resisted. [passage omitted]

BORBA Discusses 'Isolation' in Kosovo

AU0809092289

[Editorial report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 24 August on page 6 and on 25 August on page 7 carries the two installments of a 3,500-word article by Milos Antic on "Why the Problem of Isolated Persons in Kosovo Has Grown Into a Peculiar Political Affair."

Antic says: "In addition to a number of other Kosovo topics, the story about 'the residence of a number of persons in a specified place,' or rather the isolated persons in the province, particularly heated up the hot political situation in the country, and it went on for days. The problem was raised to the highest state levels, even to the extent that prominent representatives of our country were forced to explain all this to the world, especially to some human rights protection bodies. It was obvious that the explanations of the measure were very cautious, as if one did not want to say and to admit that constitutional and legal foundations exist for such a measure in our country, in this particular case in Kosovo, a measure that is envisaged in the laws of many democratic systems."

Antic continues: "The problem of isolated people in Kosovo is not very pleasant in itself, particularly if one knows that at one stage, this measure was taken against 238 people." He quotes the Constitution of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the Law on Internal Affairs of Kosovo, which in specific cases provide for "residence in a specified place or a ban on leaving one's place of residence."

"As is known, the assault troops of the great Albanian separatist movement, at the end of March this year, took up arms against Yugoslavia and the members of its security forces who were sent to Kosovo to protect the constitutional order, peace, and freedom of citizens." "In such a situation, the SFRY Presidency proclaimed special (emergency) measures in Kosovo. It was forced to do so, because the integrity and sovereignty of the country, as well as freedom and security of the majority of citizens were endangered."

"One of the steps within these measures was the application of isolation. Jusuf Karakusi, Kosovo provincial secretary for internal affairs, stated then, and now told BORBA again, that the measure was taken exclusively against those persons who were under justified suspicion that with their work, conduct, and activities they may contribute to a further aggravation of public peace and order, or instigate new disorders and may directly influence the further course of the demonstrations."

The Internal Affairs Service therefore placed 238 people in isolation. "Had it by any chance not done so, had it allowed a number of isolated people to join in the turmoil of the bloody spring in Kosovo, then the spring may have been even bloodier and the disorders even greater and lasting even longer. Had the appropriate organs not taken the necessary measures, they would have been justly accused of having, by their behavior, enabled the counterrevolutionaries to plot unhindered, to stir the people to rebellion, and to assault the foundations of Yugoslavia, because their 'dark deeds' were known.

"It is not to be excluded that the isolation measure 'caught' some who did not 'fulfill the conditions' for being affected. All this is not difficult to demonstrate. However, for the time being, except for asserting 'that innocent people were isolated,' all those who were released from isolation do not dare to prove their innocence where this can be done in a legal way."

"Out of 238 persons who were 'ordered to reside in a certain place,' criminal charges were filed against 54 persons, and 20 were punished for misdemeanors. Criminal charges were filed chiefly for counterrevolutionary endangering of the country through instigating and organizing demonstrations, as well as for illegal possession and distribution of arms and explosive materials, or arms trade." Of the 54 criminal charges, 18 were filed for arms possession and the others for counterrevolutionary activities. Searches of isolated people yielded "3 submachine guns, 2 automatic rifles, 21 guns of which 14 were military guns, 88 pistols, and more than 2,000 rounds of ammunition."

Antic reports on some of the charges filed. "Selim Vlasi, brother of Azem Vlasi, was isolated in Kosovska Kamenica. He was president of the Communal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Kosovska Kamenica. The criminal charge against him says that a well-founded suspicion exists 'that he committed a criminal act directed at undermining the socioeconomic and political system of the SFRY determined by the Constitution, deepening interethnic hatred in Kosovo, and undermining the equality of the peoples and nationalities.'" He is accused of "extending support to ethnic Albanians to take part in demonstrations in Pristina in November 1988 to offer support to the Provincial Committee and Azem Vlasi and Kacusa Jasari, replaced leaders, and in February 1989, he expressed his support for sending a telegram and financial aid to Trepca miners, whose ultimate aim was to prevent the adoption of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and to create conditions for a destabilization of the SFRY, so that the aims of the counterrevolution may be realized and Kosovo may secede from the SFRY."

A teacher, Fejzulah Fejzulahu of Gnjilane, "as a member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and teacher, actively participated in the demonstrations in Pristina on 18 and 19 November last year and at that time, as the charges say, 'organized a meeting with a number of teachers in his house. On that occasion a telegram of

support to Azem Vlasi was drafted, and Fejzulahu personally took it to Pristina Television, where it was immediately published.'"

Antic comments: "One could cite many similar criminal charges which list numerous witnesses and other evidence against those whom the charges were filed. All of them, in the way they are drafted and if they are sustained in court, show that the events last November and this March were more than well organized and that they had a clear and unequivocal aim."

Bosanski Brod Oil Refinery Ceases Production

LD0809175789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0824 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 8 Sep (TANJUG)—It is uncertain when the Energoinvest oil refinery in Bosanski Brod will continue with production, which was halted at the beginning of this week as a result of inability to pay for imported crude oil. This was stated to TANJUG by Dr Ante Domazet, president of the Energoinvest management board. Chronic illiquidity of this refinery escalated when obligations toward banks and other creditors prevented it from getting new comercial credits and ensuring continuity of imports and precessing.

It is certain that the break in production will have unforeseeable negative consequences on the supply of the market in this republic, Domazet said.

Bogovina Coal Miners Strike for More Pay

AU1009152789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 10 Sep 89

[Text] About 600 miners from the Bogovina coal mine have refused to go down into the pit, demanding that their pay be increased and that inflation be curbed. The mine and Boljevac commune leadership have proposed an increase in personal incomes of 50 percent but the miners have not accepted this. They are demanding more but, as is being said in the mine and the commune, there is no money for this.